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5th Ethnography and Qualitative Research Conference

University of Bergamo, June 5-7, 2014



V Convegno di Etnografia e Ricerca Qualitativa

Università di Bergamo, 5-7 Giugno 2014

Abstract Book



il Mulino

**ETNOGRAFIA
E RICERCA
QUALITATIVA**



**UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI
STUDI DI BERGAMO**

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KEYNOTELECTURES

GLOBALIZATION AND THE STATE

Marc Abélès, EHESS, Paris

Thursday 5th 14.00-15.30 – Room 5 SA

Globalization affects societies by redesigning both global economic space and power configurations. In this context, the states are more and more dependent on economic and the rules of financial markets. Moreover, as a political consequence of the globalization, new forms of transnational institutions are emerging and reshaping the traditional locus of power. We simultaneously experiment with the limits of the concept of sovereignty and the emergence of “multilayered governance” that seems more adjusted to the rise in power of the information society. At the same time, one can question the functionalist perspective which informs most of the studies of the transnational governance, as if the emergence of global-politics could be interpreted as a complexification of institutions necessarily responding to a new globalized order.

In this paper, leveraging on the ethnographies of the political life and institutions I conducted in France and Europe, I will focus on what I call the *displacement of politics*, i.e. the fact that state is no longer the only protagonist and that the Hegelian dyad of state/civil society has lost its centrality. This displacement is not limited to the appearance of a new political scene in which old institutional powers have been replaced by newer ones, more adapted to deal with the world’s changes. Actually, what can be observed is a global redefinition of the meaning and aims of political action. This redefinition is not simply cognitive. It also shows up in modes of action, in the constitution of organizational and institutional forms, in the selection of issues for public debate, and in the construction of epistemic spaces where this debate will happen. In other words, the redefinition is a matter of governmentality, in its original Foucauldian meaning. In fact, we can speak of a real transition, with a rise in preoccupations of life and survival at the heart of political action, while the issue of the Platonic city and the relationship of the individual to sovereignty, what I call *convivance*, is relegated to the background.

PHILOSOPHY OF PRAXIS: A GRAMSCIAN APPROACH TO ETHNOGRAPHY

Michael Burawoy, University of California Berkeley

Friday 6th 14.00-15.30 – Room 5 SA – 8SA

The main thesis of this paper is that theory and method are inextricably interconnected. Starting from the subjectivity of the dominated, Bourdieu’s theory of symbolic domination leads to notions of misrecognition and the method of *participant objectivation*, while Touraine’s theory of postindustrial or programmed society leads to notions of historicity and the method of *sociological intervention*. Antonio Gramsci’s notion of hegemony combines and transcends the theories of Touraine and Bourdieu, leading to the idea of good sense within common sense, built on his *philosophy of praxis* and a theory of intellectual engagement. The ethnographer elaborates the good sense contained in the practical life of the subjects while combating the bad sense contained in hegemonic ideologies. This method is illustrated with the author’s ethnographies of workers in the United States, Hungary and Russia.

CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHIES OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN MEDITERRANEAN CITIES

Convenor: Nick Dines, Middlesex University, N.Dines@mdx.ac.uk

CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHIES OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN MEDITERRANEAN CITIES I

Friday 6th 9.00-12.00 - Room 1 SA

Revealing Heritage in a Divided City: Urban Exploration and Counter Narratives in Nicosia, Cyprus.

Emily Bereskin, Technische Universität Berlin, emily.bereskin@metropolitanstudies.de

This paper analyzes the practice of heritage discovery through urban exploration as a means of learning the city. I argue that in conflict societies, such practices positively impact intergroup relations in three ways: 1) by cultivating interest in hidden pasts and alternative histories; 2) by encouraging the traversal of territorial boundaries; and 3) by creating communities of practice that cross ethnic lines. The paper positions heritage as an instrumental intermediary between social identity formation and conflict transformation. My theoretical argument, which draws on socio-psychological and architectural concepts, is developed alongside an ethnographic study of “Old Nicosia Revealed,” an urban exploration and photography project based in the divided capital of Cyprus.

Nicosia has been divided along ethnic lines since 1963, when disagreements over constitutional arrangements in the newly independent Republic of Cyprus sparked intercommunal violence between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. The split calcified in 1974 when a Turkish military operation prompted the creation of an UN-controlled Buffer Zone severing the island. Greek Cypriots live in the city's south (Lefkosia) and Turkish Cypriots reside in the north (Lefkoşa). From 1974 until the opening of the border in 2003, movement across the Buffer Zone was prohibited and interaction between the two communities was nonexistent. Even now, intergroup relations are characterized by mistrust and antagonism.

The city's heritage speaks to the conflict. The Cyprus conflict has become Nicosia's dominant narrative, overshadowing the city's myriad alternate histories. The historic walled city, the area closest to the Buffer Zone, was largely abandoned after 1974, left to dilapidate as communities relocated to safer, more desirable neighborhoods outside of the city walls. The ruinous core is permeated by material manifestations of the conflict: barrels and barbed wire interrupt thoroughfares and demarcate territory; bullet holes and destroyed buildings mark the sites of fighting; and flags, statues, and other symbolic markers proclaim group superiority and victimization.

However, the conflict narrative, which falsely pits two monolithic, essentialist ethnic groups against each other in a protracted battle of “ancient hatreds,” is at the same time contested by the city's variegated architectural heritage. The Old City testifies to Nicosia's diverse history: churches, mosques, markets, schools, domestic structures and street layouts attest to the plurality of religious, ethnic, and social groups which have populated the city. The diversity of architecture proves the binary classification “Greek/Turkish” to be a false construct. Historic markets and formerly mixed neighborhoods highlight the once peaceful coexistence of the city's population, a fact that remains unknown to much of Nicosia's younger population.

Heritage offers a way of rethinking the city, not as the contentious site of territorial politics between two warring ethnonational groups, but as an amalgamation of Roman, Byzantine, Frankish,

Venetian, Armenian, Ottoman and British cultures. Just as much a place of shared history as contested history, the walled city offers the possibility of a shared Cypriot identity capable of aggregating with other social identities.

Before discussing “Old Nicosia Revealed,” I first analyze the Nicosia Master Plan's transformation of the walled city into a heritage district. The Nicosia Master Plan is a unique bicommunal undertaking of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot planners, architects, and engineers who have worked since the late 1980s under the auspices of the UN to plan for a reunified city. The Master Plan's primary objective is the restoration of the walled city's architectural heritage as a means of revitalizing the urban core to encourage movement and development back into the city center. Much of the Old City has been restored with the help of the UN, the EU, Europa Nostra and other international organizations.

In my paper, firstly, I show that although the Master Plan team has won numerous awards for heritage restoration, they have failed to create local enthusiasm for the city's rich urban heritage because they have neglected the discursive aspect of heritage promotion. Despite the Master Team's vision that shared heritage can encourage the reconstruction of less mutually-exclusive identities, political constraints at the national level have stymied the promotion of shared heritage and the creation of a unitary urban identity. Branding, tourism, and heritage promotion still reinforce divisive national narratives.

Secondly, I next consider how “Old Nicosia Revealed” has sparked interest and enthusiasm for Nicosia's diverse urban history and heritage. Old Nicosia Revealed began in 2010 when three friends who grew up in Nicosia's modern suburbs decided to walk into the Old City – a place essentially off-limits to them for most of their life. They started exploring the area's small shops, tortuous alleyways, and ruined buildings. The group photographed their finds and posted the discoveries on Facebook. Just two years later, the team of Old Nicosia Revealed has doubled and has over 2,500 online followers. The group continues their exploration of the Old City, but has also expanded their activities to lead tours and expeditions, curate exhibitions, hold lectures, and give photography workshops. The group and their “followers” investigate their findings, researching the old buildings and the artifacts within to revealing hidden histories and alternative urban narratives.

The paper situates exploration as a heretofore often overlooked heritage practice, one that reorders personal and collective memories and can challenge prevailing historical narratives. I argue that urban heritage exploration encourages the disruption of nationalist master narratives and creates a community ready to challenge dominant views of the past with a renewed interest in the spaces and histories of the “other.” I situate the relationship of Old Nicosia Revealed to the Master Plan as one being more complex and nuanced than simply a case of bottom-up resistance to top-down narratives – a relationship commonly applied to juxtapositions of participatory alternatives to state activities. Rather, I argue that Old Nicosia Revealed could not have existed without the ground work laid by the Master Plan and the group is continuing work that state institutions are not able to carry out due to political considerations.

This project is based on research conducted in 2013, which combined ethnographic, documentary, and discursive methods of investigation. Part of the research took place in the social field, including in-depth interviews with state actors and members of Old Nicosia revealed, and participant observation during Old Nicosia photo expeditions, lectures, exhibitions, and tours. Remaining research has been conducted in the virtual world, observing, recording and analyzing the group's online activities in social media.

Crossed gazes over an old city: photography and the (de)construction of an heritage place
Paula Mota Santos, University of Lisboa, pmsantos@ufp.edu.pt

As the oldest part of the city, Old Porto holds in it the material evidence of its past from where the city's genealogy can be read from because materially witnessed. As such, Old Porto, is an area of the city with an immense symbolic power: it's the Historic Centre. This symbolic centrality of Old

Porto is epitomized by its classification in 1996 as an UNESCO World Heritage Site.

However, Old Porto, although symbolically central to the city, it is socially marginal to it. Old Porto is poor area of the city. As such it is inhabited by those who hold the less power in the city, if any they hold.

Old Porto is then inhabited by a paradox: absolutely central to the city sense of self (something clearly visible in the historians' narrative on the city) its inhabitants live on the margins of the dominant city (something clearly visible in the fact that the areas of Old Porto outside the normal tourist route are actually part of the geography of the dangerous places of the city).

As such, Old Porto is a place that is at the core of a complex interplay between different social groups as to what the city as a whole and its inhabitants are about (something clearly visible in the disagreements between local inhabitants and City Council *vis a vis* urban renewal processes). Old Porto is then a place where Porto's multi-vocal identity is being most visibly negotiated, constructed, contested and heralded.

The paper presented here is part of a research project that aimed both at identifying the different images that different social groups have of Porto's old part at seeing how this urban area plays a role in the construction of a sense of belongingness to Porto (Northern Portugal).

The research strategy implied both the analysis of the production of an old Porto sense of place by cultural producers (historians, filmmakers, novelists, tourism industry) and the way this part of the city was experienced and consequently meaningfully constructed by those who inhabit it – local inhabitants- and those who visit it – tourists.

The analysis to be presented here is based on Photography.

Photography was then taken both as a social practice (the act of photographing) and as a materiality (the photograph) that are closely related to systems of visibility and of invisibility (what the subject deems photographable and non-photographable). Photography was chosen as a research methodology because (1) it is an ubiquitous practice of present day lives and (2) through it a sense of place is both represented and produced (3) the photo can act as a cue for eliciting senses of place through conversations held over them with their makers.

Taking as truthful that photographic practice both mirrors and produces a relation to place, an in order to elicit the social tensions encapsulated in Old Porto, the paper will present a comparative analysis of four photographic gazes: Officialdom (the photos in the City Council tourism leaflets); Inhabitants (photos taken by Old Porto inhabitants on the important things for them in the Old Part); Illustrated postcards (based on the most sold/bought Porto postcards and taken as encapsulation the normative tourism industry gaze) and Tourists (photos taken by individual tourists visiting Old Porto).

The paper will then pay particular attention to the photos taken by the Old City inhabitants: to the type of places photographed, but also, and most importantly to the memories these photos encapsulate, as expressed by their makers in the conversations held over the photos taken.

The photos taken are always a result of the photographer's intentionality; they are a result of her/his decision that it is worth recording that that particular 'object' was seen and so make it visible to others and to oneself. Thus, because photographic systems are systems of controlled visibilities (and invisibilities), the photographic corpus to be presented will show how the same medium, the photograph, can actually result from different relations to place and be differentially used/interpreted by its makers who chose to represent the same urban area in very diverse ways, so producing different 'knowledges' of an Old City, and thus, producing different Old Portos.

Fragments of History : The Multi-Layers of Heritage in Istanbul

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My paper will illustrate how the different layers of heritage (Byzantine, Ottoman, and Republican) in Istanbul are protected, reshaped, and contested by different stakeholders. Therefore I will focus

on two specific cases, namely the renewal of the areas along the Theodosian land walls and the transformation of Taksim area. A discussion of these examples highlight that the official inscription of four selected areas as World Heritage proves inadequate for understanding the various forms in which heritage is used, promoted and defended by officials, activists, residents and tourist.

Currently a city of approx. 14 million people, Istanbul looks back on a rich history of different Empires, but it is nowadays also a large metropolis, which has to deal with enormous population growth and rapid urban transformation. The special location of Istanbul as ‘gate between East and West’, divided in an Asian and a European part by the Bosphorus strait, poses a special difficulty on sustainable city management, especially in the field of heritage preservation. Additionally the area is under massive earthquake risk – an argument recently used also to justify the demolition of historic neighborhoods.

The Historic Peninsula, separated from the rest of the European part by the Golden Horn inlet, was the area with first Byzantine settlements. Also in Ottoman times the peninsula kept its importance as domicile of the sultan. This is why the Historical Areas of Istanbul, consisting of four defined areas on the Historic Peninsula, were inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1985 as one of the first sites in Turkey. The inscription coincided with a period of extensive infrastructural and urban transformation.

The tension between neoliberal urbanization on the one hand and heritage preservation on the other is one of the most striking features in heritage studies today, and it is also widely discussed within the UNESCO World Heritage Committee. While tourist promotion in Istanbul focuses on a few representative buildings on the Historic Peninsula, such as Hagia Sophia, Süleymaniye Mosque and Topkapı Palace, the vernacular houses of the historic neighborhoods are in decline or being demolished for urban transformation projects, resulting in deteriorating living conditions and the displacement of many inhabitants. Since the early 2000s, local NGOs have continuously addressed these problems. The World Heritage Committee has also criticized the developments, to the point of debating Istanbul’s entry on the List of World Heritage in Danger, which has prompted diverse local reactions and an intense public debate. The controversy centers on a number of huge infrastructural projects (such as Haliç Metro Bridge, Marmaray Railway Tunnel, and Yenikapı Station) and private high-rise developments which negatively affect the historical neighborhoods, not only in World Heritage areas. The events at Taksim Square and Gezi Park in spring and summer 2013 highlight the importance of notions of heritage that differ from officially inscribed sites. The transformation of an area that many residents presumed as integral of their national, republican identity heated up to what was later widely referred to as “Turkish Spring”.

Additionally discourses about heritage in Istanbul are shaped by the multilayered history of the city and the question of what should be preserved. From the 1990s on official heritage promotion in the city focused on the construction of a new Turkish-Muslim identity to underline the Ottoman heritage. Byzantine remains were often neglected in official discourses and sometimes even demolished. This practice points to the highly centralized nature of heritage management in Turkey, where the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is responsible for all important decisions in this field. This approach is supported also by the structure of the World Heritage Committee, where the nation states alone are responsible for the inscription, evaluation and preservation of World Heritage sites.

The area along the land walls is one of four protected World Heritage areas in Istanbul and it was for a long time neglected in tourist promotion, even if one can find important remains from the Byzantine era (e.g. the remains of the Byzantine Blachernae Palace and the Chora Museum), gardens dating back to 5th century and vernacular buildings next to one of the most elaborate defensive systems, the Theodosian land wall. Stigmatized as dangerous areas, urban renewal projects have transformed historic neighborhoods along the land walls into luxury places for rich residents and tourists. Local activists protested the transformation of Sulukule neighborhood and the displacement of Roma people, which was also evoked international criticism. For other projects in the area, e.g. Ayvansaray, only a few people drew attention to the current developments.

Different from that the urban renewal project in Tarlabası neighborhood was loudly protested. It is a neighbourhood close to Taksim square and Istiklal Caddesi, the main shopping street. This area is

not listed as World Heritage, but known as a quarter for many different minority groups and its particular historical building structure. Similar in the case of Sulukule, the marginalization of minorities was the main argument against the Tarlabası project. In local perception not the historic building structure but the diverse ethnic groups are worth being protected as part of the city's cultural heritage. Additionally local activists perceived the transformation of Taksim area with the construction of a mosque next to the Monument of the Republic and the reconstruction of Ottoman military barracks in place of Gezi Park as an attack on the national, republican heritage dating back to Atatürk. In the end the reconstruction of Ottoman heritage stimulated the protests that spread all over Turkey last summer. The formation of civil activist groups during these protests caused a new consciousness of defending the city's cultural heritage. It was the destruction of the Yedikule Gardens next to the land walls (and far away from the city center) that were protested by local activists in the weeks after the Gezi Park protests.

By discussing these two examples I want to examine how cultural heritage is perceived in a city like Istanbul that holds much more historical assets as promoted officially. I want to question the label of World Heritage, which does not mirror local priorities, but seems to be a tool exclusively for tourist promotion and political interests in the transnational arena of UNESCO. For this I will build on my research that I conducted in Istanbul from July 2012 to October 2013. In this time I was working on different cases (monuments, renewal projects, historic neighborhoods) with a special focus on the stakeholders (institutions, organizations, residents) involved in the preservation of heritage. While participant observation was an integral part of the research, the multi-sited field work especially asked for doing interviews with different stakeholders. For quantitative data I conducted two surveys and I was working with mental maps to understand the perception of heritage.

The production of Arab urban heritage. Mazara del Vallo's Casbah **Ilaria Giglioli, University of California Berkeley, giglioli@berkeley.edu**

This paper explores the history and politics of the production of the 'Casbah' neighborhood of Mazara del Vallo, located on the south-west coast of Sicily. In recent years, Mazara has been defined as 'the most Arab city in Italy', thanks to its well-established Tunisian community as well as the alleged 9th Century Arab origin of its urban core. Furthermore, since the early 2000s, the municipality has been actively promoting itself as an example of successful cross-cultural integration and cross-Mediterranean relations. In this paper I explore the history of the 'Casbah' neighborhood in relation to the emergence and consolidation of this symbolism of Mediterranean interconnectedness.

Once the economic core of the town, the neighborhood was gradually abandoned by its Italian residents following the 1981 earthquake, and its sub-standard housing stock was in large part leased to Tunisian migrant workers. In this context, the neighborhood became increasingly labeled as the 'Casbah', a term that negatively connoted the area as a hotbed of petty crime and unsanitary conditions. Over the past decade, however, this neighborhood has been the object of an urban renovation project that re-brands the 'Casbah' as a symbol both of the city's Arab past and of its present connections with the Southern Rim of the Mediterranean. Interestingly enough, this urban renovation is occurring alongside a shift in the demographic composition of the area, with a decrease of its Tunisian population and an inflow of Northern Italian/Northern European owners, attracted by the low cost of housing and the 'exotic' feel of the neighborhood.

This paper claims that the changing connotation of Mazara del Vallo's 'Casbah' neighborhood is symptomatic of broader changes in the economic base of the city on one hand, and of shifting cross-Mediterranean relations on the other. It claims that the recent rediscovery and celebration of the 'Arab' tradition of the neighborhood is occurring precisely at a moment of crisis of the town's historic economic base, the fishing sector, and of the general decline of the strategic importance of the town to the Sicilian Region and Italy as a whole. In this context, underlining the 'Arabness' of one of its central neighborhoods represents a way for the town to re-brand itself simultaneously as an

'exotic' tourist destination, a haven of crosscultural dialogue, and an area with on-going strategic connections with the Southern Mediterranean.

This rebranding of Mazara del Vallo, however, is not an uncontested process. While the renovation of the 'Casbah' has rendered the Tunisian community increasingly visible in the town's official discourse, including tourist pamphlets, various members of the Tunisian community have contested the management of new 'Arab' spaces in the city, such as *Casa Tunisia*. In particular, they denounced their lack of involvement in the planning and use of these spaces, as well as a more general disinterest of municipal authorities towards the welfare and socio-political incorporation of the Tunisian community. Drawing on specific episodes of contestation, my paper also addresses the relationship between the renovation of the 'Casbah' and the increased agency of Mazara's Tunisian community. Is this community mainly serving as a backdrop that testifies to Mazara's 'multiculturalism', or are Tunisians appropriating, actively producing and directly benefitting from Mazara's newly celebrated 'Arabness'? Or, perhaps, is the community acquiring voice precisely through its *contestation* of the municipality's 'Arab' marketing strategy?

Research for this paper was carried out between February and March 2014, combining a variety of ethnographic and archival methods. The historical changes in the neighborhood were mainly reconstructed through oral histories with residents and shopkeepers, in combination with archival work on newspapers from the 1970s to present. More recent plans for the revitalization of the 'Casbah' were reconstructed through interviews with public authorities and analyses of city council meeting minutes and of municipality spending decisions. Power struggles around urban renovation were reconstructed by attending a series of meetings, inaugurations and opening events, as well as by day to day observation of the Casbah neighborhood where I resided for the duration of the study.

Whom does heritage empower, and whom does it silence? : Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Jemaa el Fnaa

Thomas Beardslee, The Ohio State University, USA, beardslee.3@osu.edu

Since the Declaration of Masterpieces and the highly successful 2003 Convention, the UNESCO paradigms of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) and 'safeguarding' have become influential concepts in international, national, and local cultural policy. It is lauded as an important update to the World Heritage program, one that recognizes the intangible and makes room for new participants in the international recognition and protection of heritage. But the thinking employed in the ICH model – where practitioners are "bearers" of reified, bounded heritage practices – still owes much to frameworks and ideas perhaps better suited to buildings or natural structures. This paper is based on a year of fieldwork conducted with the open-air performers at Jemaa el Fnaa Square in Marrakech, Morocco. The Square is at both the heart of the old traditional city and of Marrakech's tourist trade. It was declared a Masterpiece of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2001 and was in many ways the site of the genesis of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage project. Thus the Jemaa el Fnaa serves as a useful case study with which to discuss the flaws inherent in the ICH safeguarding paradigm.

Among other things, the ICH model neglects the lived realities of practitioners, ultimately safeguarding little and potentially exacerbating existing inequalities. "Heritage", to quote Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "is a new mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past," and the creation of ICH requires special skills and kinds of access that many do not possess. Lacking these skills, the performers at the Square were left out of this creation process and left mute in matters of heritage that affected their lives and livelihoods. Thus the constructed heritage of the Jemaa el Fnaa and the activities intended to safeguard it bear less of their needs in mind and more the stamp of the nostalgia, desires, and anxieties of the writers, academics, and cultural administrators at the center of the ICH process.

Concerning methodology and urban dimension of the topic: This paper is based on a year of participant-observation research (along with a small quantitative survey) conducted with the

hlayqiya, open-air performers. The Square is at both the heart of the *medina* (the old traditional city) and of Marrakech's tourist trade, and the livelihoods of its performers are intimately tied with the urban dynamics of traffic (pedestrian, automobile, and coach), construction, and policy.

Concerning the Jemaa el Fnaa, ICH, and power, the dynamic is a complex one: On one hand, the experiences of the Square's performers serve as examples of heritage's ability to disempower, to silence, to objectify, to quash freedom of choice and ingenuity. It is my assertion that this comes as not a result of poor management or insensitive planners but rather as an unavoidable consequence of the intangible cultural heritage paradigm itself. However at the same time, what scholars like Valdemar Hafstein refer to as the "governmental" aspects of heritage created new possibilities for imagined community and collective action.

CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHIES OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN MEDITERRANEAN CITIES II

Friday 6th 16.00-19.00 – 1 SA

Offsetting a cartography of conflict: an archive of the peripheries of Hebron's Heritage Sites

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'As is' rarely means as is, even if it means to – a reflection that is both the key point of interrogation and the disclaimer of *postscript.ps*, a collaborative spatial practice that researches and archives space *as it is*. Much of this space is anecdotal, both *in situ* and in our archive. By definition it is not the main subject: it is "off the map". We trace these residual sites through photos and narrations – the two types of anecdote that compose our map---archive of Hebron.

This paper begins with our overview of how people's everyday life in Hebron is transformed by mapping that is both scripted and scripting. We then explore how this process creates 'blank' unmapped spaces as Hebron's reality is increasingly offset from its representation. *Postscript's* archive does not aim to delimit space, but to make limits – as spaces themselves – legible. We end by presenting a series of these counter--- maps of residual urban sites resulting from the entanglement of cultural heritage rehabilitation with conflict monitoring.

Simplifying a complex process into phases for the sake of discussion, we identify five successive cartographic interpretations of Hebron, and the reciprocal impact of these maps on the formation of daily life and the city's contemporary relationship to its heritage.

i. Peace Map

Peace Agreements are political negotiations realised as spatial borders. Hebron was divided into two zones (H1 under Palestinian governance; H2 Israeli), with the latter under international supervision. When Israel transgresses its boundaries, the monitoring follows.

ii. Conflict Map

Violation of Agreements creates the 'conflict map', simultaneously mapping the history of conflict and the possibility of more in the future. Predictive and preventive measures subdivide the city, marking out urban voids. Conflict traced over the previous map redefining the official parameters used by external monitoring agents, and by its inhabitants, to navigate the city. At this point Hebron's daily urban reality is primarily a map: conflict lines define it.

The Palestinian "situation" has, in this sense, become literal – conflict *in situ*. This monothematic reading of conflict and place leaves little room for other views and voices. The *postscript* archive zooms into the lines of conflict in order to map them, locally, as spaces, and thus render suppressed situations. It is a poetic P.S. of the space *as it is* to the space *as is* mapped. Maps are themed; they follow a narrative. Like stories, there are two sides/sites to every map.

iii. Conflict-Zone as Cognitive Monopoly

As the city became map---mediated, map---monitored and even map---produced, the *conflict--zone* narrative gained a cognitive monopoly over the identification of Hebron, both for the international and local community. It has become the iconic Palestinian conflict zone, with the attendant risk of being frequently pre---perceived. In addition begin *watched* and *gazed at* are a common, even normal, experience for its residents. Those living outside the old city rarely experience the spaces, and yet the map of these represents them collectively. In a process analogous to a ‘loop---feed’, crisis interventions have consequently become the dominant image, even self---image, of Hebron’s old town. Maps are reproductive, then productive.

The practice of monitoring also has a spatial dimension; each of the international *observers* follows a protocol of what distance to maintain from the “situation”. This scene, then, always has an audience, and the audience lives the conflict---map (just as the map comes alive through its audience’s expectations).

iv. Cultural Heritage

The rehabilitation of the old town often place residents in a theatrical role as picturesque victims, in the process transforming the heritage sites into a strange hybrid of repopulation project and tourist marketing: its pastiche historicity echoes (perhaps unintentionally) mass---produced prints of Biblical scenes.

Cultural heritage has become a political cause (within the conflict metanarrative), equated locally with countering occupation. Heritage attempts to deflect rather than reflect the impact of the conflict. And yet, like conflict, it relies on construction of limits and transformation of space.

Restoration and archaeology are offsets of each other, and their ‘maps’ are distinct in their treatment of time and space. Restoration leans towards a static aim: fixing the culture and material of the immediate past. Any changes here are dependent on an idealised memory which is to be preserved and presented. The archaeological map, on the other hand, can be an offset of hundreds of years, and implies change and remapping. Archaeology is dependent on discovery. Often what it predicts will be there is already mapped out, quite literally, on the site.

Our story is to see and tell boundaries as they are, inclusive of inhabitants and their memories as protagonists and not as scripted reconstructions. Our approach is to collate an urban postscript that counters Hebron’s monothematic mapping.

v. Heritage as Live Archive: Stories in situ

We continue the sequence of these mappings with a P.S. on Hebron’s residual boundaries. It is an addition, an aside, a writing in the margins of that which the official maps don’t map. But also – and importantly – it is a product of these scripted maps, and a reflection on them. *Postscript* collects people’s translations and mistranslations of space, as anecdotes that mediate between ethnographic space *as it is* and its map.

Spatial archival practice must exceed memory, in the double sense that it cannot become trapped in the in past, and at the same time it must fill in some blanks: the memories of now that are not official, not enshrined in official documents, not traced onto the sites of memory and worthy of (re)discovering in a future scripting of the past.

On-site work highlights another feature of the archive, what Olsson, a theorist working at the intersection between geography and philosophy, has expressed as the tension between the *no-where* and the *now-here*. Our archival practice (its production, its reading, its reproduction) does not aim to build a future understanding of the past – or, exclusively, of conflict – but a current nuanced view of the momentum and moment of NOW. (here). *As is*.

Touring the Hidden City: Walking Tour Guides in Postindustrial Genoa

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A largely deindustrialized city, since the early 1990s Genoa has struggled to conquer its place in the sun as part of Italy’s well-established tourist economy. Following a common pattern, much of this

process unfolded through an economy of great events (Richards 2000)—the Colombian Expo of 1992; the Group of Eight summit of 2001, and Genoa’s role as a Capital of European culture of 2004—that utilized primarily governmental and EU funds to renovate parts of the cityscape. By the early 2000s, Genoa’s historical city center was partially gentrified, a stylish waterfront had replaced its old port, and a handful of shopping malls and big box stores had emerged from its postindustrial peripheries. Even though Genoa’s revitalization has followed a global pattern shaped by administrative and—though to a considerably lesser extent—corporate choices, the production of its visitability (Dicks 2003) has also fallen under the purview of a largely independent cottage tourist industry (McCannell 1976) that developed at the margins of large scale renovation processes. As a professional category that emerged in the early 1990s to cater to residents as well as tourists, walking tour guides are among those Genoese whose poiesis (Calhoun, Sennett and Shapira 2013) contributed to the transformation of this city’s public image as well as the everyday life of its residents. Writing about what he called the “creative class,” Richard Florida (2012) described a new category of individuals who, attracted by vibrant urban environments (Florida 2005), make a living—and boost their city’s revenues as well as its attractiveness and popularity—by creatively utilizing their talents in the fields of science, engineering, architecture, design, music, entertainment, and education (2012:8). Genoa’s walking tour guides fall under the rubric of a *sui generis* “creative class:” they are resourceful individuals who make a living by drawing on their personal skills and their cultural capital—and, as they do so, they increase their city’s appeal to its publics. Just like Florida’s creative class, the guides’ endeavors unfold against the backdrop of the revitalization process and the development of the Genoese culture industry to which they contribute by helping shape the perception of the city in the eyes of visitors and residents alike. Moreover, just like Florida’s creative class, Genoa’s guides are both consumers and producers of culture, and they experience a typically neoliberal merging of leisure and work (Freeman 2007); however, what sets them aside is their marginality to the culture industry to which they contribute, and which does little to support their work as popularizers of high culture. Even though Genoa itself has undergone a considerable makeover, the city hardly resembles the up-and-coming cities that provide a hotbed of creativity for Florida’s “talents” (2005). This is partly why, unlike Florida’s driven “creatives,” most of Genoa’s tourist guides were initiated to their profession by accident. In most cases, their vocation was born out of an (often gendered) impossibility or unwillingness to relocate as much as it was determined by the need to cope with Genoa’s persistently dismal job market and high rates of intellectual unemployment, especially among women. Being both empowered and constrained by Genoa’s own marginality to Italy’s main tourist circuits, this city’s walking tour guides turn the limited visual legibility of its urban landscape into a creative canvas for tales of concealment and discovery.

The ethnographic research for this paper draws on an ongoing engagement that began in 2002 as part of a broader project on urban renewal in Genoa. Ever since, I have spent about four months a year in the field, conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews with guides and taking part in walking tours of the city. The temporality of this research raised peculiar challenges—especially the awareness of the limitations intrinsic to the attempt to track a rapidly transforming reality, and the discomfort at freezing the subjects of my research in the ethnographic present (Fabian 2002). Not unlike the narrations put forth by the guides it examines, the story presented in this paper is an attempt to establish legibility in an emergent urban milieu shaped by the worlding practices of those who inhabit it (Ong 2011).

City space and performances of the heritage of low-income neighborhoods in Marseille **Mark Ingram, Goucher College, mark.ingram@goucher.edu**

Sites of heritage provide a bridge between past, present, and future. In recent years, efforts to celebrate the distinctive memorial qualities of low-income neighborhoods (through initiatives such as “urban walks”) have been led by artists, associations, and local residents throughout Europe.

Such efforts seek to empower residents and promote a neighborhood image different from media portrayals emphasizing crime and alienation. They are also performances of neighborhood identity that assert a sense of belonging and collective ownership in opposition to neoliberal logics of development prioritizing neutral space amenable to renovation. Drawing on ethnographic research in Marseille prior to and during the 2013 European Cultural Capital (ECoC) year, this paper looks critically at the concept of a heritage of low-income neighborhoods in the context of broader changes in urban governance. Recent analyses of the French state's urban policy in "sensitive" zones for the ten-year period ending in 2013 echo earlier calls for encouraging the participation of residents, but also strongly criticize top-down methods and call for greater attention to the initiative of residents at the grass-roots level. Also, as cultural policy has diminished in importance as a medium for central states to define a political agenda for national societies, the arts policies of cities have grown in importance. Often, as with the ECoC, a city's brand and prestige are enhanced and its status as a "creative city" affirmed. Such policies also serve municipal priorities in the long-term administration of urban space, including the renovation of low-income neighborhoods. This paper examines efforts to celebrate the heritage of low-income neighborhoods both within and outside the official ECoC program. Analysis of the interests served by the concept of heritage, and the varied meanings it conveys, reveals the contradictions and paradoxes of its use as a means of empowerment of the residents of these neighborhoods.

Indiano heritage in Catalonia: Persistent undertones from 19th century transatlantic routes in present day touristic itineraries and cultural fairs

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The year 2004 marked the first celebration of an 'Indiano Fair' in Begur, a coastal town north of Barcelona, Catalonia (autonomous community in Spain) which has been the point head of a process of putting into value heritage sites and elements that makes memory of all those Spaniards – in this case specifically Catalans - that went principally to the Americas, mainly during the 19th century and, having been able to make enough fortune, returned to the Iberian peninsula to invest the capital made. These returned emigrants were known as 'indianos' or 'americanos' only if they came with a fortune and invested it in tangible works, such as architecture but also in the foundation of commercial enterprises. Recently, as part of a process of decentralizing the touristic gaze from 'sun and beach' destinations, a growing number of coastal towns have participated into the development of a network that seeks a cultural tourism offer that could include guided tours through the architectural legacies of the 'indianos', together with themed cultural fairs. These events are characterized by the presence of pre-existing details from modernist themed fairs, yet mixed with afro---Caribbean imaginaries.

This communication, therefore, aims first at providing an account of the events that have given place to and the management models that have been used for the construction and valorization of the tangible and intangible heritage linked with the historical phenomenon of the migration of indianos in Catalonia, particularly through means such as fairs, routes and networks, focusing firstly on a case study (Begur). Given the actual absence of research that explores this perspective of the subject matter, and using ethnographical methodologies such as bibliographical and archival exploration, participatory observation and interviews, this communication (which has its roots in a final research work as part of an M.A. in Management of Cultural Heritage) also presents a concise approach to the sequence of projects as well as to sociocultural and political motivations that gave an impulse to the emergence of actions that put into value this particular heritage.

The problem posed for the research was focused on answering a central question: How has the indiano heritage been managed in Catalonia during the 2004-2012 period (presently extended to 2014)? To begin achieving an answer to the question meant to contribute first with a diagnostic study that sought even further objectives such as to answer the following: What recent and past historical events have taken place to increase the interest in putting into value such a heritage? Who

can be said to have been an indiano with best precision, and which kind of heritage can be linked to that person? When, where and why has the first valorization of this heritage happened and to what extent has it disseminated to other Spanish territories?

The research that stemmed from such problem and objectives gave place to new problems that required a proposal of conceptual redefinition of terms, starting precisely with the word 'indiano', which was found to lack a homogenous definition, having as a consequence a similar effect at the moment of striving to identify those elements that could be considered an indiano heritage. This was mainly affected by socio-historical differences amongst the autonomous communities of Spain. Other matters from an anthropological perspective that stood out clearly were subject matters such as return migration, transoceanic familiar economical networks, and especially the potential link of this heritage to uncomfortable or negative aspects such as slave trade and slavery. Additional topics of discussion are those cultural management traits that deserve a symbolic analysis from the scope of discursive power exerted through promotional designs where indiano imaginaries are brought up parallel to the architectonic principal elements (for example, habaneras, palm trees, 'coffee, rum and tobacco', black women, white clothing) and from which performances and scenery in indiano fairs take inspiration. While at a general Catalan cultural policy level, the topic has called the attention of its autonomous government to the point of including indiano heritage as a topic in touristic sites inventories and guides, Barcelona, as its capital, is slowly and carefully entering into this subject in the sphere of tourism. Catalonia's capital was the historical space of settlement for indianos after having returned from overseas. Although most of them were originally from smaller urban settlements on the coast north and south of Barcelona, it would be in this city that the investment of their fortunes would concentrate, allowing and strengthening 19th century surge of plans for expanding the city, its industries and its economical networks.

Giving consideration to the indiano heritage in Barcelona could and would mean giving another critical perspective to its well accepted modernist architectonic heritage, for some of its best examples were made by indianos, with their capital made in the Americas, sometimes through the practice of human trafficking and forced labor of slaves. As stated, part of the fieldwork included tourism ethnography done in date and place---specific indiano fairs and themed itineraries. These last serve as focus of analysis for this communication, insofar as they provide further confirmation of an observed trait in dealing with the topic: underneath the cheerful and to some extent nostalgic commemorative fairs and of the growth of interest and studies of this colonial transatlantic enterprise, there is also a constant sense of discomfort and concern towards the subject of slavery or slave trade. Also, fieldwork in indiano fairs has documented reiterations of historical power relations linked to colonialism and slavery through variations of blackface enactments.

Nevertheless, the means used to put into value the indiano heritage have roughly completed a decade of existence and yet have already served as an example imitated in other autonomous communities in Spain (Asturias, Cantabria, Castilla y León and Galicia) that also possess an indiano legacy. The case of the indiano heritage activation is very particular to the Spanish state and does not possess any virtual known analogous examples in other countries both in the sense of its historical characteristics as well as in the phenomenon of its incorporation in the common ground of identity elements of the territory under study.

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF COMMUNITIES

Chair: Marco Marzano, University of Bergamo, marco.marzano@unibg.it
Thursday 5th 16.00-19.00 – 3 P

“Community” as a device in the migration government: the Bangladeshi in Rome
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This contribution, based on an ethnographical work on Bangladeshi migration in Rome carried out between 2007 and 2013, examines the theoretical foundation and the phenomenological manifestation in the field of the “community”, a concept approached as a possible and elective manifestation of “civil society”, in accordance with Foucauldian reflections.

The emersion, and the sudden affirmation in the public arena of an idea of “Bangladeshi community” are re-framed into a genealogical path which, since former systematic legal enactings concerning immigration in Italy promulgated in the multicultural spirit of early 90’s, has been characterized by a co-institution process involving on the one hand the local administration and the political field, on the other hand a migratory elite endowing itself with “community organizations” in reaction to incentives originating from the governance of migration.

Highlighting the effective practices of social actors and their discursive deconstruction of a communitarian rhetoric as current as it is contested by migrants, the ethnographical evidences show that the concept of “Bangladeshi community” lies on uncertain epistemological basis and has to be referred to an “imagined” *gemeinschaft*, built by specific groups, often directly involved in the management of the migratory chains and the connected services, and consequently interested in the conservation of their centrality in the “community”.

The same idea of an elective aggregation grounded on solidarity ties, a basic item for the communitarian paradigm, has not been confirmed by the fieldwork. Into self-declaring “community organizations” disinterested help seems to be quiet uncommon, while intensely asymmetrical relationships characterize many interactions, leading to the reproduction of speculative mechanisms characterizing the urban area in key sectors as labor and housing, and fostering the perpetuation of patronage.

Thus, despite of public rhetorics pointing out the “migrants communities” as a self-evident fact, characterized by elemental forms of sociality and solidarity, the “Bangladeshi community” revealed itself as an ambiguous and fleeing entity, where the inequalities organising the migration process are not mitigated or undermined by the action of an alternative reason, but are reproduced in similar, and sometimes amplified, ways.

Rather than standing in opposition to the migration governance, as in the representation of the bulk of left wing, the “Bangladeshi community”, born from a direct collaboration between migratory elites and public powers, seems to act in agreement with his precepts, disseminating governmentality in the social body, and perpetuating the same inequalities that it’s supposed to criticize and subvert.

The “community” operates in this way as a “governmental device”, becoming part of the Foucauldian “modern governmental technology” and sharing with the “civil society” the status of “transactional idea”, an idea shaped in collaboration with the same powers to which, in a theoretical sense, it’s often opposed.

Empowering Immigrants in Berlin
Baris Ülker, Technische Universität Berlin, riza-baris.ulker@metropolitanstudies.de

Space is not an ontologically given entity; on the contrary as James Clifford argues in reference to Michel de Certeau “it is discursively mapped and corporeally practiced” (1997, 54). “Immigrants”

from Turkey marked Berlin's urban fabric by cross-cutting three crucial symbolic periods: first: from the construction of the Berlin Wall (August 1961) to the ban on recruiting foreign labor (November 1973), second: from this ban in 1973 to the fall of the Berlin Wall (November 1989), and third: the post-Wall period.

In the first period, West Berlin was an "island of freedom" surrounded by the GDR and so-called socialist threat. Lacking its status as the capital of Germany, West Berlin was benefiting from the subsidies in order to improve its destroyed economic and infrastructure systems. "Immigrants" from Turkey were indeed considered as the most remarkable *Gastarbeiter* group, whose presence was a *state of exception* (Agamben 1998). In the second period, they were becoming a permanent part of West Berlin. Their former image, as the symbol for minimizing social and political costs and maximizing economic profits, turned into a social question and risk that needed to be dealt with. At the end of this period, Berlin was profoundly discussing their "integration" and also experiencing the emergence of their entrepreneurship. In the last period, "immigrants" from Turkey continue to be considered as a part of the social problem. However, transformations deriving from German reunification and restructuring have paved the way for the development of their new image. As reunified Berlin started to reconstruct her spatiality, a part of the "immigrants" from Turkey contributed to this transformation through "ethnic entrepreneurship".

From a methodological point of view, where one questions the conditions of possibility, "ethnic entrepreneurship" in Berlin is a product of the "German economic system" since the "crises of Fordism". It is the social market economy understanding of German neoliberals that enables the political rationality since the late 1980s to imagine the "ethnic entrepreneur" as an "other": a "tolerated" "other" that has competitive, participating, calculating and cooperative skills in a world of declining profitability of mass-production industries and increasing crises of social welfare policies; an enterprising "other" without the need for direct political intervention; an efficient "other" that can shape, socialize and maximize capacities of its members with ethics of autonomy and responsibility (Donzelot, 1997).

Having its historical features at the junction of political, economic, social, cultural and intellectual endeavors, "ethnic entrepreneurship" has been constituted as a technique of taking care of oneself and others (*à la* Foucault). It is a form of subjectivity that can be exemplified in the compromises between autonomous individualism and social engagement, between memories and future plans, between social policies and individual imaginations, between "problems" and "potentials". This paper, hence, intends to explore the transformation of human beings into subjects, i.e. "ethnic entrepreneurs".

To examine the tactics and strategies of power within "ethnic entrepreneurship", the paper will focus on everyday practices of Rojda, whose company provides health care services especially regarding the "immigrants" from Turkey. Her practices get in touch with the project of *Neighborhood Management*, which functions as an urban regeneration and integration strategy in the districts of Berlin with "special development needs". As an outcome of the idea of an "enabling state", the project Works through the principles that include society's potential for self-regulation, transparency of public administration and boosts in participation by the people, transition from a society based on industrial production to a knowledge-based service society, performance-oriented and cost-efficient procedures, competing approaches and responsible use of resources.

Within this context, the paper will look at first, the ways individuals perform themselves as "ethnic entrepreneurs"; second, rules for this way doing things; and third, truth claims (as sphere where true and false can be carried out) for providing reasons about this way of doing things.

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Elite groups in the just city. Creating the idea of a “good life”.
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The paper is about a dialogue between a golf estate (a form of gated community) managed and governed by a Homeowner Association (hereafter HOA) and a suburb formally governed by the public administration of the city together with private associations mainly concerned with security. The first one is planned as an organic regulatory system while the latter could be defined as a self-regulating environment. The crucial difference sets in the presence of the HOA in the golf estate and in the stark boundaries that it defines.

They are located in the city of Johannesburg and according to their respective residents they both represent the prototype of the “just and ideal city” in the context of elite South Africa. The reflections presented rest on participant observation over the course of three years in the two areas (2011-2013). Becoming a resident of the golf estate first and of the suburb later has allowed me to map the city of Johannesburg both following the perspective of the residents and thus adopting a method of constant contrast and comparison within the city.

Looking at the city with a relational lens and adopting a comparative perspective from within the paper attempts to give an analysis of urban space in which the analytical concept of segregation is imbued with broader questions of nationalism, belonging and entitlement linked to the way of living in the just city and to the way of thinking of it. These notions are directly linked to the management of the two areas, to their planning and their relationship to institutions.

The paper offers an analysis of how the golf estate formalizes what is considered to be by its residents a good standard of living in a just city and how it contrasts and/or comply with the idea of this standard in other parts of the city. The open suburb is one site of comparison and it is of interest since residents that share the same socio-economic background of the golf estate inhabit it. The work is about understanding the power and the importance of the institution in shaping a new identity in a country (South Africa) where groups have been defined historically by the category of race and where nowadays homogeneity and group identity needs to be analysed following the articulation of race and class. Thanks to the analysis of the formalization of a system through which the golf estate comes to embody the ideal of good, just and standard life, the following themes will be discussed in a thread:

- 1) The white minority group yet hegemonic and historically dominant in South Africa, in connection with the new political elite of the country sets the standard of the good space in the city.
- 2) This good life becoming the standard, it is hardly criticized by those who cannot afford the elitist lifestyle.
- 3) The mushrooming of golf estates and the increasing importance of HOAs does not only mirrors neoliberal politics, but also renewed idea of the “self made man” traceable in the way the city is lived.
- 4) The city of Johannesburg is then read through the lens of the good and just city from the perspective of the elites, highly normative in what can be done in the city and what movements are allowed.
- 5) Participant observation by a white Italian girl in an environment mostly white (even though less increasingly so) shows the extent of this process of creation of standard of good life in the city.

“Enter here it’s like taking vows” Children’s homes for teenager like “almost-religious organizations”

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Elisa Carraro, Educatore Professionale presso comunità d'accoglienza di minorenni del Nordest

Elisa Lazzarini, Educatore Professionale presso comunità d'accoglienza di minorenni del Nordest

With this speech we want to reflect about a particular organization shape, the one concerning children’s home, for the characteristics and the relationships through members that live in. We identify these kind of experiences of community life in the category of almost-religious organizations, for the intensity of relationships, for the request of sharing values, for the processes that concerns selection and insertion of new workers that will be working in these structures.

Considerations are connected with an empiric research that was conducted with ethnographic methods in two children’s home in the north-east of Italy, and will be about this themes:

- Founders and their roles in House life: the assignment of tasks and mandates to coworkers, the observation of new operators in the recruitment and novitiate phases, the control about the ortodoxy of the educative prattice and organizational ritual, like, for example, in case of internal meetings.
- Operators: the “beginning ritual” of entrance, the apprenticeship like novitiate, the work in community as a life choice or total dedication (from here the title of speech), the fear of transgression and the emancipation desire; stories of trespassing through private life and professional life, including the danger of burnout due to an emotive and fisic overexposure.
- Guests and their families through protagonism and indifference: stories of involvement or absences.
- Transformations of the two experiences as an outcome of games and inner relationships (at first through fouders and a few operators) and through the internal workspace and the external work space (services system: school, work, health, voluntary work networks, relationships with neighbourhood and families of guests).

About this last point, we called “gemmaion” the practice of a multiform system of treatment, that includes spaces and solutions of autonomy for operators and guests; a real move that could represent, in the middle-long term, not a recipe but a proposal of organizative sustainability, that respects processes of growth of boys and girls into structures and their families, but also operators and founders of child’s Houses. A consideration that was born in two child’s home for underage, but it seems to regard transformations and resistances usual in hosting procedures.

Santa Rosalia come ricomposizione dei legami comunitari?

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Dal punto di vista simbolico la festa di Santa Rosalia istituisce e celebra il legame sociale “primario” nel contesto moderno, al di fuori dello stato e del mercato, in un campo che Godbout (1989), con Hirschmann (1970), definirebbero come quello della “loyalty” e che si realizza nel riconoscimento e nel rafforzamento di una miriade di legami sociali personali stretti fra tutti gli intervenuti alla festa e declinati nella logica della parentela e del comparaggio. Gli altarini devozionali a Santa Rosalia sono costruiti appositamente nei vicoli, nelle vie, nelle case private. La prima differenza da porre è quella che s’impone come forma di festeggiamento privato in senso familiare di Santa Rosalia. Dunque, un senso della festa condiviso e creato con i propri familiari ma esteso a una sfera pubblica perché l’altarino è costruito da tutte le famiglie che abitano nel vicolo. Aspetto significativo che mette in luce una forma socializzazione all’interno di uno spazio condiviso e che crea senso di appartenenza e di coesione attraverso la stessa costruzione dell’altare devozionale. Alcuni di questi sono evidenti e “ricercati” durante i festeggiamenti dal 10 al 15 di

luglio di ogni anno. Il primo degli altarini, il più facile da raggiungere, quello che si trova di fronte alla Cattedrale nel “Vicolo Brugnò” messo in risalto dalle luci e dai drappi rossi che lo mettono in evidenza e inevitabilmente attira l’attenzione del passante.

Durante l’osservazione etnografica possono essere messi in risalto alcuni punti sulla costruzione degli altarini in forma privata. Un primo fatto è quello che riconduce alla sfera devozionale delle famiglie che abitano in quel vicolo. Addentrandosi nel Vicolo Brugnò, l’occhio non raggiunge subito l’altare dedicato alla santa, ciò che cattura l’attenzione è l’uscio delle case lasciato aperto appositamente, il cui interno presenta altri altari dedicati (alla Madonna di Fatima, Padre Pio) eretti in un angolo della casa e mantenuti fedelmente. Lungo il breve percorso, gli stessi abitanti del vicolo creano una lunga fila di sedie messe a disposizione anche per i visitatori, i quali non usufruiscono quasi mai di quella forma accogliente messa a disposizione; ma per lo più le stesse sono utilizzate dagli abitanti del vicolo che creano una forma di semicerchio non distante dall’altare. Inoltre, sedendosi osservano i visitatori che entrano nel vicolo e non perdono occasione per parlare con il loro vicino di casa. Non vi sono dei raccoglimenti di preghiera in forma individuale ma per lo più si ritrova un’ambiente familiare, come se lo stesso altare costruito all’interno delle loro case fosse costruito fuori, cosicché il vicolo diviene la loro stessa casa. Forme di comunità di vicinato messe in atto durante i giorni del festino ed evidenziate dalle foto che essi stessi mettono in mostra, appendendole nel vicolo, non solo come simbolo e forma di devozione ma anche di costruzione dell’altare in un percorso storico e di memoria che riprende gli anni precedenti. Inoltre, Si nota come uno dei quadri contenenti delle fotografie incollate ricostruisce un percorso devozionale sulla “vestizione” delle bambine “promesse” alla *santuzza* come forma di ringraziamento e di riconoscimento devozionale.

La sfera privata di devozione, dunque visibile, sotto gli occhi di tutti i passanti, diviene forma di devozione pubblica ma resta relegata al vicolo non fuoriesce da esso. Solo chi entra e percorre quel breve percorso verso l’altare riesce a scorgere un cambiamento di festa. Dalla grande festa che si prospetta lungo il corso principale alla piccola festa (nel momento in cui si entra nel vicolo) si è subito proiettati in un’atmosfera di festa che possiede diversi caratteri di devozione: dalle fotografie, i lumini accesi per terra all’interno delle case, i discorsi che vengono fatti dagli abitanti del vicolo che ricordano gli altari precedenti, le grazie richieste e quelle ricevute. Infatti, nell’altare devozionale sono messi in mostra piccoli ex-voto che riconducono alle grazie ricevute da Santa Rosalia. Ai piedi della statua messa al centro dell’altare si ritrova un cestino nel quale sono riposte delle imaginette di Santa Rosalia e non delle offerte di denaro, quest’ultime sono contenute in un’urna di vetro chiusa a chiave dalla quale è possibile scorgerne il contenuto che non è banalmente riconducibile solo a delle offerte in denaro (dollari, euro, lira quasi come se il contenuto non mutasse ma restasse intatto nel tempo) ma vi è la presenza di offerte di gioielli in argento e oro (collane, bracciali, anelli). Dietro la statua raffigurante Santa Rosalia si può scorgere una corona del rosario messa come fermo dei drappaggi che addobbano lo stesso altare.

Non si può far a meno di notare che il vicolo oltre che a essere addobbato a festa è segnato dagli agenti atmosferici del tempo e le mura delle case non sono restaurate, alcune parti denotano segni di decadenza e di abbandono. Il fatto che la festa sia anche un sacrificio fatto a Dio, essa sembra collocarsi a una certa distanza dai rapporti di trascendenza. La protagonista appare la società primaria dei partecipanti, vale a dire l’insieme dei loro legami sociali. A questi circuiti di dono, piuttosto evidenti, si collegano altri flussi, più impliciti e più trasversali, come il circuito donativo della presenza e dell’esserci (sono venuto lo stesso nonostante la gamba ingessata e resto qui seduto davanti all’altare della santa dice un ragazzo al vicino del vicolo), e il circuito della volontà di pacificazione, cui la festa dà l’impulso. L’accoglimento alla festa, la presenza dell’ospite (il passante, il visitatore) genera una forma di divisione visibile tra gli abitanti del vicolo e coloro i quali sono solo di passaggio. Questa forma di distacco si percepisce dal fatto che entrando nel vicolo le persone sedute ai lati dell’altare smettono di parlare fra di loro, riprendono soltanto dopo che hanno osservato il visitatore. Le relazioni che intrecciano con “l’estraneo” è dato da un sorriso e del senso di orgoglio che esso denota per la creazione dell’altare e la sua ostentazione. Altra tipologia di altarino devozionale è quello che viene costruito in via Gioia Mia, una delle vie che si

trovano dietro la Cattedrale. Questa volta al centro dell'altare costruito interamente a mano non vi è una statua raffigurante la santuzza ma un quadro che la ritrae dipinto da un membro degli abitanti della stessa casa sul quale l'altare stesso si "appoggia". La sua costruzione è innalzata sull'uscio della stessa casa, cosicché le pareti fungono da supporto allo stesso altare. Fulcro dell'altare il dipinto a olio che rappresenta il mezzo busto di Santa Rosalia attorniato da colonne ricoperte da drappi bianchi e fiori, candele che supportano delle lampadine elettriche collegate all'impianto dell'abitazione. Sono anche visibili soltanto alcuni lumini ma questi poggiati in disparte. Davanti all'altare, quindi dall'altra parte della strada ci sono delle sedie, disposte in fila orizzontale, in una di esse seduto un anziano signore nonché il proprietario della casa in cui sorge l'altare devozionale. Nei palazzi di fronte all'altare, dai balconi sporgono appese lenzuola ricamate e coperte di raso rosso, e la sera del 15 luglio in quella stessa via passa l'Urna Argentea contenente le sacre Reliquie di Santa Rosalia. Durante quel momento, l'Urna sosta per circa dieci minuti davanti l'altare di via Gioia Mia e vengono recitate un Pater un Ave e l'Inno a Santa Rosalia.

Il passaggio dell'Urna di Santa Rosalia davanti all'altare devozionale di Via Gioia Mia designa un momento significativo con il lancio dai balconi di petali di rose che la ricoprono e l'intera strada diviene come un manto fiorito. All'interno del meccanismo del dono fatto in nome della santa, di cui si celebra tuttavia non solo la presenza storica (cioè la permanenza della sua eredità in forma mito), la festa privata fa emergere un insieme di condotte sensorio motrici collegate a un senso che trascende la sensazione del legame sociale individuale. La festa privata sembra presentarsi come sede di un comportamento para-agonistico, dove la competizione non è visibile, data la confusione e il caos che si crea in quei giorni. In questo senso il parroco della cattedrale è un elemento importante e funzionale. Si tratta di un rappresentante temporaneo di un aggregato sociale più ampio da cui riceve delega, quella di "far vivere-creare", più che meramente rappresentare, una particolare declinazione dell'aggregato sociale, quello della pacificazione e della solidarietà pre-conflittuale.

After Miramar: building resilience in a risk territory.

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The Hyogo Framework introduced in the public agenda the concept of "resilience" of cities when socio-natural disasters happen. This concept refers to the ability of a society potentially exposed to hazards to adapt, by resisting or changing, in order to achieve or maintain an acceptable level of functioning and its structure.

This concept involves components such as social capital, empathy, effectiveness in solving problems and goals/aspirations. It's related with the grade of the social system to be capable of organizing itself to increase its capacity for learning from past disasters to better protect themselves in the future and improve measures for risk reduction. A case of significant interest because of the dynamic of its territory and urban transformations that has lived throughout its history is the city of Miramar in Argentina.

Miramar is situated in the south coast of Mar Chiquita Lake in the central area of Argentina. Since the early twentieth century, the city has been characterized by the large national and international tourism. The history of the region shows periods of great economic fervor, as well as different and successive floods in the city of Miramar. Particularly in the 1970s, the city is awash in much of its length, leaving underwater most of the tourist infrastructure. Faced with this event, part of the population stay in the city, while another part has moved towards other locations for different reasons.

The aim of this presentation is to characterize and analyze how people build resilience after a disaster, taking into account the changes in the social and political structure as well as changes of context in the case of people that went away after the floods. Qualitative methodology has been used for the purpose of this presentation, taking into account different interviews and observations on field. This paper is an exposition of preliminary results of the Ph.D. studies on Humanities and Social Studies that I'm carrying on.

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF SPORT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

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ETHNOGRAPHIES OF SPORT AND SOCIAL CHANGE I

Friday 6th 9.00-12.00 – 3 P

Contesting Punjabiyyat: the new challenges of cricket clubs in Italy

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Sport is an arena seldom considered in examining transnational migrations and migrants' local integration, underdeveloped when it comes to Indian diasporas in Italy. This paper deals with the emergence of a novel sporting association, the ACC Albano Cricket Club, which kicked off in 2012 in a rural village between Bergamo and Brescia, an area densely inhabited by Punjabi communities. I intend this sport organization as a social workshop, a tool and a mirror of social change, joined by dozens of male youngsters, mainly of South Asian descent.

Resorting to participant observation and narrative interviews with the local youth, cricket players and supporters, coaches and staff, I'll discuss inner interactions and outer dynamics of this club, between its genesis by chance and prospective outcomes for professional development. Whilst postcolonial discourse has been evoked in depicting British Asians' cricket fandom and NRIs' engagement in the national game has been widely explored, the interest for Indian cricketers in Italy is just pioneering.

Considering the structure of the ACC, I'll advance an intersectional analysis of its associates and examine their mutual relations, situating sport performances in the frame of building local loyalties and constructing social capital. First, the ACC is so far gender-specific and male-dominated. An unspoken gender divide in Indian youth activities questions how masculinity is fashioned among 2nd generation immigrants also through the practice of cricket. Further, for most interviewees, the experiences shared within the ACC have fostered intercultural dialogue on different scales: in the "host" society, within a split Indian community and with other South Asian minorities. Last, since a few native Italians are also associated in the club, the balance between national majority and immigrant minority is turned upside-down, and this situation offers a different perspective to gaze at migrants' local integration and to reflect on citizenship as an instrument of civic participation for second generations.

In spite of frictions, the solidarity and friendship made through the medium of cricket, which cut across deeply-felt axes of social diversity such as religions, ethnicities and nationalities, sketch an encouraging future for a region increasingly populated by super-diverse new Italian citizens.

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Fighting with the senses: Using a sensory ethnography to explore the gender dynamic of Karate

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This presentation will focus on using the body as a sensory tool for exploring gender in the sport of karate. Our senses are utilized in everyday experience: it is through sight, smell, touch, sound, and taste that we understand the physical world and negotiate our inter/actions within that world. Women and men's bodies not only experience the senses, but are also embedded with sensory expectations as markers of gender identity.

Karate is a combat sport utilising kicks, punches and throws, and oozing action, drama, violence, sweaty body-to-body contact, speed, pain, elegance, domination, companionship, tacit tactics, bruises, and sporting respect. Karate is a sport oozing sensory phenomena, and with these sensory acts, gendered expectations. It is a sport where men and women fight and train with one another, negotiating through direct physical experiences gender identities, performances, and power relations. Essential to the embodied experience within this vividly gendered arena are the physical hits of a fight, the sweaty smell that drips off the fighters as they gasp for breath, the shouts of voices claiming points on their opponents, the thuds of fists hitting bodies, and the visual performances of agile darting movements.

In this paper I argue to explore the gender dynamic of this arena it is crucial use methods attentive to the embodied experience of the sport, and how these sensory experiences are ascribed gendered interpretations. I will highlight the centrality of the senses to the embodied experience of gender in sport, before giving an overview of the ways in which I intend to 'capture' the sensory experiences of the sport ('sensuous participation', audio recordings, and participant lead photo/artwork diaries). I conclude by suggesting that a sensory-ethnographic approach not only enables a more nuanced understanding of how gender is woven into our inter/actions - which thus leaves the sensuous arena of sport a prime arena for exploring and changing gender regimes - but it also opens up pathways towards a research design which reflectively embraces the equally shared humanity of the 'participants' and researcher alike.

Sport, wellness and narcissism. The Pilates between psycho-physical balance and fashion

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The evolution of body image in contemporary culture of sport is a part of the global cultural scenario that pursues narcissistic values. The obsolete icons of the traditional sporty body are outmoded by the diffusion of new styles bodily disclosed by advertising that conveys images of frames and perspectives that drive the meaning of the message. These values are declined in the celebration of aesthetic beauty and seductive body proposed that often surrounds the sport performance and the technical movements of the athlete. Around the size of the new corporeality sports revolve infinite number of economic interests, communication, picture, well-being, relational. The culture of narcissism has pushed to the extreme values of ostentation sporty body. Exhibited a true icon showcased, the sporty body commodified configure the new sports models on the basis of narcissistic and describes the most significant changes occurred. The body in this new scenario is a personal capital to protect and build on the basis of an identity project. In the wake of sharing these values growing network of services for the body. Physical activity in the gym, the care of the nutrition and wellness are the most trendy to realize the new model of corporeality admired that it is able to influence the more traditional models of sport. The sport is also tuned to the needs expressive, playful and hedonistic desires of the new consumer profile of free time in gyms. The gyms and wellness industry is the other side of the coin of the pursuit of the cult of the body. The picture that emerges is of an induced promotion of sport aimed at the creation of new sport bodies healthier and more glamorous. The objective of this research is to analyze, using the ethnographic approach, the relationship that is established between the narcissistic representation of the body and

the consumption of free time in gyms dedicated to a particular sport: Pilates. The demand for knowledge of this research involves the assumption of an interest of individuals towards this sport set in relation to the motivational aspects more individualistic and relational ones that are structured in the life-world (Lebenswelt) of the gyms. Through in-depth interviews with witnesses will attempt to identify the possible analogy between the interests of well-being and those that cause the most narcissistic approach to this sport and the various forms of reflexivity that are triggered through empathy that generates among the social actors involved in this particular social context. The identification of specific categories of interpretation (reflexivity, the aesthetics of the body, the ability to express movement through the technical aspects of corporeality in the most expressive movement, mirroring) will identify the typological profile of the neophyte and to understand the significance of his act on the basis of social (re)construction of the life-world in which you compare and relationality that is structured among individuals during group activities outside of the gym. The study assumes a remark comparative between the Italian and English situation, taking into account the most important cities, towns catalyst of new services to care for the body.

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The Role of Visual Data in the Ethnographic Analysis of Sport and Social Change

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The proposed paper will explore the role of visual data within ethnographic analyses of social change. Most ethnography of sport is almost exclusively lexical in approach. Evidence is generally derived from observation, fieldwork and conventional lexemic approaches [see Dyck (2012), Garcia (2013), Pearson (2012) and Sands (2001)]. However, sociologists are increasingly using visual materials as part of their overall strategy for researching social phenomena [see Margolis & Pauwels (2011) Pink (2012) and Rose (2007)]. Such ocular data can be collected or generated easily

nowadays using digital cameras, camcorders and mobile phones.

Most researchers involved in developing ethnography and sports studies have traditionally made use of cross-sectional approaches to probe phenomena [see Penn (2004)] However, such analyses contain significant methodological problems when attempting to analyze processes of change. Cross-sectional approaches can only capture social phenomena at one moment in time and require inferences about how these may be changing that are often arbitrary in nature and rarely rooted in appropriate or pertinent evidence.

However, this conventional approach is by no means the only way visual data can be collected and analyzed. The paper will propose and assess a set of longitudinal methodologies for the study of the ethnography of sport. It will explore three different aspects of these methods:

1. The study of photographs of sport over time: this approach intersects to some degree with contemporary history but photographs taken over time can provide valuable insights into a range of phenomena. In the case of football, for instance, we can use photographs of stadia, crowds or matches to provide the empirical basis for theoretical and conceptual arguments about the changing structures and meanings of the game within a wider qualitative and ethnographic research design [see Penn, 2008].
2. Sociologists can collect photographs as part of a longitudinal research strategy [See Chaplain, 2011 and Klett, 2011]. Photographs can be used with respondents/participants at various moments in a research strategy to elicit their views about their content and to probe their deeper beliefs, norms and understandings [see Lapenta, 2011]. This approach can be used in the study of sport in a variety of ways that include the analysis of sporting graffiti both inside and around stadia [see Penn, 2006]. The changing nature of such graffiti can be used within a wider longitudinal hermeneutic interpretative research design to probe structural continuities in popular sentiments about football and its intersection with the wider political context.
3. Sociologists can involve their participants/respondents in producing photographs themselves within a longitudinal ethnography. One strategy would involve inviting participants to photograph what they consider to be valuable or important about a specific sporting context. These images can then be used subsequently to provide an 'entry point' into their wider 'life-worlds' within a process of dialectical conversations. Once this is repeated at some time[s] afterwards there is a fulcrum with which to explore changes [and continuities] over time.

The proposed paper will provide a series of theoretical and conceptual ideas about how to analyze social change within the arena of ethnographies of sport. These possibilities will be illustrated with visual evidence taken from several empirical projects that incorporate such ideas.

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ETHNOGRAPHIES OF SPORT AND SOCIAL CHANGE II

Friday 6th 16.00-19.00 – 3 P

The professional ambivalence: Transnational Internet-related ethnography in the world of elite climbing

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This paper presents an ethnographic research focusing on the professionalization of elite climbers. It aims to discuss the transformation of this emergent activity in relation to professionalism. Here, I will briefly discuss two of these phenomena: the changes related to media and the athletes' global mobility, to conclude by questioning the qualities, possibilities and opportunities of conducting ethnographic research with sport elite in a transnational context.

Since the mid-1980s, authors have focused on different contemporary sport activities including snowboarding, skateboarding, surfing, or rock climbing. They were interested in their "sub-cultural character" and the alternative they provide to mainstream sport. Looking at these activities through different angles, scholars stressed how they represented new ways of understanding sports based on -among others- the outdoor, competitiveness, individual participation and the commitment of the participants. However, these activities are rapidly changing and other aspects like professionalization, mobility, media and social networks remain partially unexplored. In this context and through a focus on professionalization, I suggest that climbing is showing global social transformations that contrast with different facets of its supposedly alternative character.

I have been conducting a multi-sited and transnational (mostly spread across the USA and Spain) ethnographic fieldwork at different locations (e.g. climbing gyms, climbing areas, professional events) and online (e.g. climbers and climbing websites, social media and networks, visual productions,). I used the Internet and different digital technologies as tools, to conduct fieldwork. In doing so, my research is based on constant shuttling between online and offline cultural life, and my fieldwork is shaped by and conducted through online and offline, local and global encounters between the participants.

Drawing on the different types of data produced during this fieldwork, I suggest that climbing stresses a particular manifestation of globalization driven by corporate entities that use a neo-liberalized approach to global extension. Media and social networks, Internet and mobility are profoundly embedded in this process. As other lifestyle sports, climbing can be characterized by its un-institutionalized organization and limited visibility. Although different climbing federations structure the sport at both national and international levels, they do not provide consistent financial support to their athletes. In order to obtain financial support, the athletes mostly rely on multiple sponsorships and self-promoted complementary activities. Corporate organizations are primarily market oriented and so, besides climbing at an elite level, the athletes have to allow themselves to be used as brand ambassadors in many ways. To do so, they have developed series of alternative competences beside the sport (e.g. producing and diffusing media content, using social networks, being mobile). These competences are embedded in the broader context of global mobility, the Internet, the development of social media platforms and the digitalization of information that produce a global circulation of knowledge and participants. They reflect transformations in the

production, uses and consumption of Internet, technological devices, digital contents and social media, as well as blur the borders between athletes and media producers, amateurs and professionals.

Finally, arguing that global mobility, the Internet, media and social networks have become an integral and constitutive part of climbing and an essential aspect of professionalism -as well as in other of these lifestyle sports- stresses a new context for conducting ethnography in the digital age. Internet related research provides strategies to conduct ethnography on a transnational scale. It also exposes the researcher to different levels of discourse by examining the offline and online socio-cultural life. Contrasting them unveil some of the ambivalence and contradictions of participants' discourses and practices, as well as emphasizes the importance of giving a diachronic dimension to ethnography in order to analyze change.

Transformative Technologies and Social Change – A Cycling Sub Cultural Case Study. **Anthony D, Rees, Teesside University, T.Rees@tees.ac.uk**

Research into the complexities of social practices within cycling subcultures has been neglected in sport sociology and studies of cycling group interactions are rare and despite the increasingly mediated nature of cycling participation no research has yet been conducted in to the emerging effects of new technologies on this social world. This research began as an explanatory study of the complexities of social practices within the subculture of racing cyclists in the north east of England through the application of Bourdieu's interdependent concepts of *habitus*, *field* and *capital*. Using a reflexive experiential ethnographic methodology, a symbolic interactionist approach to data analysis was employed. The scope and content of the research changed considerably from its inception, reflecting a growing acknowledgment within sociological research of the role of new technologies in social change and in the way that we conceive and experience social space and after initial research revealed that recent technological innovations were having a significant impact on the subculture under study. The research project evolved in to a study of the impact of transformative technologies (TT's) on social life (Glottz, Bertschi & Locke, 2005). Used in this research the term 'transformative technologies' referred to internet applications which facilitate the creation, curation and sharing of physically generated user content online. This ethnographic research examined the emerging effects that social surveillance (Marwick 2012) and gamification (Deterding, Dixon, Khaled, Nacke 2011) via TT's were having on social practices and processes of identity construction within the social world of racing cyclists. Increasing engagement with TT's within the subculture made it difficult if not impossible for subcultural actors not to take part in a social system that increasingly operated on and through TT's, emerging social spaces in which physical activities were planned, shared and recapitulated. Social interaction was extended beyond the physical, but when transferred and presented in an on line 'virtual' setting some subcultural characteristics and meanings were lost. Detachment from the shared physical experience compromised systems of social recognition and in doing so raised issues related to the value and authenticity of social resources, issues which challenged and had the potential to transform the existing social order. A visible presence in the online environment coupled with the gaze of others resulted in changes in behaviour and changed modes of participation. Research revealed that this sporting *field*, was changing, as new 'rules of the game' emerged as the shared *habitus* of racing cyclists was challenged by participants with a *habitus* being transformed in an online 'virtual' cycling setting. The researcher was in a unique position to investigate this rapidly changing social world as a mature PhD student (age 55) and former Ironman triathlete who became a racing cyclist when injury ended his triathlon career. This research had a reflexive autoethnographic element (Tedlock 1991) revealing the researchers own socialisation and corporeal experiences which subjectively captured the lived reality of this physically contested social world and acknowledgement of the researcher's subjectivity was a central component to the conceptualization and production of the research. In order to establish himself within the subculture of amateur racing

cyclists in the north east of England, the researcher competed in races and joined racing cyclist group training rides and associated social interactions in cafés and coffee shops on a weekly basis. In addition, data uploaded to TT's allowed engagement in online social interactions which further illuminated the systems of domination and control which constituted the social hierarchy in this sporting *field*. Significant data were gathered using a netnographic approach (Kozinets 2010) participant observation and empirical analysis of online social interactions. A presence in the online subcultural scene aided socialisation and enabled the researcher to acquire a situated understanding and experiential knowledge of the TT's under study. A collection of images captured using a smart phone in a form of visual ethnography (Pink 2007) represented a valuable source of data and the transition of the researcher from outsider to insider was eased by using these images as 'ice breakers' sharing the research pictures online helped to establish rapport and trust with study participants. This ethnographic research revealed the transformation of this subcultural *field* as the creation of new social spaces, new outlets for competitiveness and new rewards for participation combined to create a new cycling 'game' played on a global *field* with access to a limitless number of 'virtual' opponents.

Jump! Practicing parkour in Genoa.

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The paper will focus on the experience of a group of persons of different ages practicing *parkour* in the urban context of Genoa. The paper is aimed to describe the public areas of the town, representing their use by the specific point of view of the *traceurs* crew, considering *parkour* as a physical discipline that, because of its own intrinsic nature, entails a critical relationship with the space where it is practiced (Mould, 2009). To this effect, it is of particular interest to look at this practice and collect the narratives of the Genoese *traceurs*, because on the one hand Genoa is made up of different and relatively autonomous public spaces with specific and cultural characters, and on the other hand *parkour* originates from the attempt to revise and disrupt the town institutional framework (Daskalaki, Stara & Imas, 2008).

Traceurs' narratives are analyzed to understand what they do and why, which is their point of view regarding both public and private dimension, what is allowed and what is not, what they think about spectacularization and "niche" approaches to *parkour* (Weathon & Beal, 2003). This will lead to understand as well the way the town reacts to such a different way of using its spaces.

The research on the Genoese field shows the ways in which – starting from the narratives of expert knowledge, media representations and their "mythologies" - a set of practices and visions takes shape keeping a constant tension between sharing the repertoires of a global subculture and adapting to local conditions. In terms of values, the *traceurs* crew of Genoa share some of its orientation with other *parkour* groups in Europe and North America: the narratives of the Genoese *traceurs* make reference to a strive to breach the common and standard views of citizens, aiming to act as a propellant for a change that might overcome their own subculture framework. Adhering to such a vision, called by *traceurs* the "PK vision", they try to imagine and to transfer a new approach to interpret urban maps (Borden, 2001; Lamb, 2010). Although the "jump experience", with its fusion of the body-in-motion and buildings, is described by people who practice *parkour* as a moment (time) and a context (space) in which a revision of structural spatial organizations that are deeply incorporated in the town occurs (Benasso & Stagi, 2013; Vivoni, 2009; Guss, 2011), its performance in the urban environment of Genoa has to face several resistances, both in terms of the actual possibility to draw pathways through the ordinary flow, and in respect of disciplinary gaze of the citizens.

Some peculiarities of the urban mobility in Genoa as well as the everyday fruition of its public spaces, strongly affect the modality of *parkour* practices: traditionally, the organization of Genoa's public spaces emulates geo-political divisions, creating a number of microenvironments which hardly intercommunicate: this is as an heritage of ancient times when the aristocratic families

exercised control over the town thanks to its fragmentation, confining social relations in private spaces. The use of Genoa's streets and particularly of the pedestrian areas of the large historical town centre appears to be tightly bound to a question of legitimacy of the presence of different social groups in a given area. There is a microphysical control system that causes restraint behaviors and even the banishment of the supposed "irregulars". This is a reason why – what is locally called "*genovesità*" – Genoa appears inadequate or hostile to tourism, although politics and public campaigns are constantly trying to sell Genoa as a product-town ready for consumption in the tourist market. Consequently, Genoa rejects or at least resists to these "evil" trackways, and relegates the *traceurs* crew inside a restricted public area, Giardini Govi, which is a small park in the centre of the town, rarely used by citizens.

The paper will describe the space chosen by the *traceurs* crew as their place for practice (as a "spot"), going through the significance given to such a space in connection/antithesis with other public spaces in Genoa. And the narratives of these *traceurs* will highlight a peculiar ambivalence between their wish to emerge and being recognized by the town (Daskalaki & Mould, 2013), and their claim for a creative and "illicit" use of public spaces.

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The moral career of a windsurfer

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I have been a windsurfer since 2010, and I have been conducting an autoethnographic study for the past two years in some of the main windsurfing spots in Torbole on Lake Garda and in Tarifa in southern Spain. I adopted the role of insider, because it seemed more fitting, and because only by participating in the sporting activity – in this case, windsurfing – was it possible to understand the aesthetics and meaning of the culture of this sport (Wheaton 2000). My observations were not only centred on beach activities, but I also frequented all the places where windsurfers gathered socially: the pubs, van parks, shops, sports festivals, beach parties and windsurfers' homes.

In August 2012, I was messing around with my windsurf board, mast and sail on a beach in Tarifa, in the south of Spain, where I was learning to windsurf. I'd heard people talk about that beach, which was eight kilometres long and a popular spot with all the best European windsurfers. By chance that day, my Argentinian instructor Alehandro, after a two-hour lesson, who perhaps took pity on me because of my obvious look of fatigue, came up to me and stayed chatting for a good hour.

The conversation remained friendly, but we were aware we represented two very different lifestyles. We were the same age, but after school I decided to continue studying and become a professor, while he dropped everything to dedicate his time to windsurfing, following the patterns of a nomadic lifestyle and cadenced by the rhythms of seasonal work. He and I both knew that there was a question that couldn't be avoided. This was probably something he had mulled over for a long time and, looking straight at me with his piercing eyes, he asked: "Why did you decide to learn how to windsurf?"

It was a simple question, which arose from his direct experience, from the experience of one who is socially recognized as a “windsurfer”. Yes, windsurfing, like many other sports, is genuinely hard to learn; it requires hours of physical effort, even in often hostile wind and sea conditions, and calls for a process of improvement that is never ending. Yet Alejandro’s simple question – why do windsurfing – didn’t have a correspondingly simple answer; most people who take up a sport ignore this question – they just do it.

Why then does a person decide to take up a sport, such as windsurfing, which is genuinely gruelling and difficult to learn? Why, for example, does a student, a teacher, a bank clerk or labourer decide to start a sport that he knows will give him physical and psychological grief?

Are the reasons personal and psychological? Or is there a moral career (Goffman 1961) of the windsurfer, that leads him to imagine his social identity in a wholly different manner, making him feel recognized and appreciated for the new identity that he is acquiring? In my work, I intend to demonstrate that far from being personal and psychological, the reason that drives a person to learn windsurfing depends on the “moral career” and on the order of the social rituals that define a specific lifestyle.

The lifestyle and elementary forms of the social life of the windsurfer emerge from the interdependence of the various rituals and symbolic elements. One element concerns the different hierarchies of competence and technical skill, which combine to determine the prowess of the sporting activity and sailing styles – it is the set of techniques, materials and surfing styles at various levels: the harness, the jibe, the footstraps, the beach start, planing, the water start, the power jibe, the speed jibe, the jumps, freestyle, the waves. The different stages of the moral career of the windsurfer are a crucial element, and these include the learning stage, which may last indefinitely but doesn’t necessarily guarantee passage to the next stage; the thrill-seeking stage, when the athlete begins to plane in increasingly extreme wind conditions, marking his fully-fledged initiation into the sport and the acquisition of a position of respect within the culture; the stage of living out of a van, when language, colloquialisms and clothing, and the organization of daily life are increasingly dependent on windsurfing and the wind. Finally, each stage of the moral career has a profoundly mimetic nature, in which the admiring gaze of the beginner (the person at the learning stage) is reflected in the windsurfer’s invitation to emulate his actions. This occurs in specific spaces and times, such as, for example, the spots where people mess around with sails and boards, where beginners learn the basics and where the majority of windsurfers are found.

From this ethnography, an order of social rituals emerges that defines a specific sporting culture and different lifestyles. Within this culture, people tend to become immersed in an all-consuming activity of emulation, but which, in exchange, offers them a certain type of world that favours social cohesion and solidarity at an international level, according to a basically chauvinist mentality – of white, western men of medium or upper class. Only apparently banal and superficial, the order of the social rituals of windsurfing are the underlying reasons why a person decides to venture into this moral career. This is developed primarily during interaction between the beginner and the windsurfer. And it envisages a series of statuses and roles of a mimetic nature, which develop into activities that are typical of a gain or loss of social position, or into masquerading strategies (the posers) or particular situations or adventures, such as, for example drifting (i.e. being pushed downwind compared to one’s course), which impact self-confidence and subjective self-representation and the social image of the windsurfer.

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Ethnography of a group of Parkour practitioners: a critical reflection on methodological limitations

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Parkour is a non-traditional discipline which has only recently entered the early stages of institutionalisation. Although it is a niche practice, the general public is increasingly aware of its presence in public spaces. In Italy, courses in Parkour training are beginning to be included in the offerings by formally recognized sports associations.

Previous ethnographic studies, published in other countries, have analysed different aspects of the discipline including: the relationship with public spaces and how it is changing over time; the institutionalisation process; the diffusion of a non-traditional practice; and the construction of a gender identity among practitioners. To add to this growing body of literature, this study was initially designed to examine the meaning construct of the Parkour discipline by observing the interactions in the group of adolescent Parkour practitioners from a northeastern province of Italy.

I became interested in the discipline from a research standpoint during a previous study collecting data on the initial phases of a social outreach program for teens hanging out in public spaces. The outreach workers involved in this study (in 2010) were working with a group of fourteen year old males doing Parkour training in a public park on the outskirts of town. The residents, from the condominiums bordering the park, were concerned that the practice was dangerous and possibly destructive to public property. The outreach workers were supporting the teens in creating a constructive outlet for this activity they were apparently passionate about, by organizing weekly training sessions in school gym. As the original core group, one by one, abandoned the gym training sessions, new members began joining which eventually created a group with all new practitioners. These new boys had initially started Parkour training at course organized by a youth centre and wanted to continue training.

At this point, the members had changed and the leadership roles were changing. The training sessions and activities were partially self-run by the practitioners themselves and in part, led by the same person who had worked with them at the youth centre. The outreach workers encouraged the older boys, who had been there the longest, to become more autonomous by helping with the group and taking charge of the training sessions for beginners. My field study began in the autumn of 2012 when they were developing a plan to join a formally recognized sports association, by the end of that same year, and organise courses in additional gyms across the city. I identified the social space inside the gym as well suited to ethnographic observation and was introduced to the group by one of the two outreach workers, during its final phase as the practitioners were in the process of becoming autonomous, or in the jargon of the outreach workers the abandonment phase.

This paper discusses two specific obstacles that emerged over the course of the study: first regarding the negotiation of my presence on the training grounds and second related to the difficulties in understanding and interpreting the corporeal focus and experience of this discipline, as a non-practitioner. Examining how these difficulties helped identify methodological improvements, the resulting changes in redefining and developing the research questions are presented.

Initially, one of the two outreach workers was hesitant to let me observe the practice sessions. This was one of my most valuable sources of indirect information about the group composition, changes over the life of the group, and on the attitudes and interaction styles of group members. Yet, this person continued to worry about my constant presence in the gym because he was afraid it might interfere with his work and after the first month of observations, mentioned to me that some of the boys were unhappy with the fact that I was writing my observations while they trained. This resistance to my presence was a methodological turning point in my research, leading to my decision to conduct brief, semi-structured interviews that I recorded (audio only) during part of the time I was in the gym. On one hand, this change in approach led to a greater acceptance of my presence during training, allowing me to reconstruct the group narrative from individual experiences. On the other hand, it facilitated the reconstruction of the practitioners experiences in a

diachronic dimension from a research point of view and complementary to the gym.

Being unable to become a practicing member of this group, primarily due to age and gender difference definitely influenced my observation frame of reference and limited my ability to interpret the significance of this practice. As a result, the eight months I spent in the gym were focussed on observations and analysis that went beyond my original research questions. For example, on the specific role of the different actors present in the field - the outreach workers, the expert practitioners, the up-comers and the complete beginners, on creating a path to have the group formally recognized by outsiders (peers, the public and institutions) and finally the re-interpreting the gym context. Parkour training was born outside in an urban environment, so a gym is an artificial context where the practitioners must find a compromise between their freedom of movement, which is a core concept in their discipline, while offering an adequate amount of structure which encourages beginners and helps the group grow.

ETHNOGRAPHY AND THE SENSES

**Convenor: Andrea Mubi Brighenti, University of Trento, andrea.mubi@gmail.com
Saturday 7th 9.00-12.00 – 2P**

**"The Japanese eat with the eyes": synesthesia, gastronomy and representation in Tokyo.
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The Tokyo fieldwork was born with the aim to explore the relation between everyday life and the sensorium, with a special attention towards the sense of *sight*. The act of looking at appeared to me as a very complex activity, highly intentional, filled with human skills and experiences, always changing and recombining, giving structure and presence to the worlds in which we live.

A Tokyoite's eyes (re)construct each day countless meanings, from the complex graphic ethymologies of the chinese characters (*kanji*) to the entangled lines of the Capital subway map, not to mention the astounding, chamaleonic fashion world, whose inhabitants crowd the sidewalks of Tokyo glamorous quarters. My travel begins with a recent trend, a phenomenon which instantly spread worldwide: food pictures. Every day images of breakfasts and dinners are posted in blogs and social networks by infinite users. Some have clearly an artistic value, as they stress the beauty of a serving, a composition of food and tableware in a setting. Some, more casual, communicate the experience of a dining subject, far from his parents and friends, who somehow proposes a distant companionship, thanks to the digital communication. This trend became so popular that the major photographic companies included, among the others, a special camera filter for food.

These findings led me to widen my research frame and include any similar representation, commercials included. Tokyo is full of exposed food: big iced *bonitos* (*katsuo*) at the entrance of restaurants, together with crabs and sea shells, the *daikon* bundles, the street foods, whose fragrances fill the narrow alleys, followed by the cook's yellings «*Irasshaimase, irasshaimase!*» (“Please come in, please come in!”). Japanese food is always in sight.

In this voyeuristic binge, I inevitably found myself in front of my first food model (*sanpuru*, from english “sample”) in *Kappabashi*, Tokyo restaurant resources shopping street.

The *sanpuru* can be seen everywhere in a Japanese city. Almost every restaurant expose them in show-windows together with prices, as a tridimensional menu. At dinner time couples and groups of colleagues stop in front of the windows, watching them, to decide where to eat. They point, comment, whispering the usual “*oishisō!*” (“looks good!”), a must-use expression when looking at food. In these moments it's possible that particular aspects of the model, activate in the observer memories of smell, taste, emotions, connecting that brief sight with his or her life experience.

*Sanpuru*s were born at the beginning of the twentieth century to meet the new demands of the “meal ticket system” (*shokken hōhō*), inspired by american chain restaurant companies. It introduced a new way to order meals, which consisted in ordering a “set menu” on a counter on the outside of the restaurant and only then sitting and eating. This method was supposed to save time and better manage the increasing number of the costumers in the demographic boom-ing pre-war Tokyo. To ease the choice of the menu, wax models were displayed.

Today *sanpuru* artisans have been using vinyl and other synthetic resins for over thirty years. These materials allow them to craft more photo-realistic and longer-lasting models, less vulnerable to light and heat.

A recently developed differentiation market offers *sanpuru* gadgets, fridge magnets, earrings, USB devices... Those “representations of representations” take the classic *sanpuru* as artistic and aesthetic inspiration to create a fashion, a style. Similarly, the *sanpuru kaishas* (companies) internal art contests, prize the most beautiful and crafty model, which is then exposed (but never sold) in the *kaisha* shop or in specialized magazines.

Looking at a *sanpuru* is a very dense act: meanings overlap, blur. It is a culinary vision, but also inspires national pride (on two levels: food and handcraft), is connected to the TV shows universe – 40% of whose are food shows. It is a mean to refer to a meal, but with a self-folding motion becomes the aesthetic model of that meal: there are very strict presentation standards in Japanese kitchens.

I briefly touched the television iconography of food: Japanese food shows cover many themes. Cooking contests among professional chefs, housewives tips, gastronomic trips... Styles may vary, but a single element is omnipresent when the food is shown: a close up to the chopsticks (or the fork) caught in the act of lifting a morsel of whatever the show is about. During these shots, brightness and contrast are exalted by special filters (called “dream effect”) to augment and blur the white light reflexes. Music is often a relaxing, ambient tune, while a mellow voice describes the dish. The point of the shot seems to be the dynamic quality of lights and how they interact with the food texture, rather than colours.

This recurring theme is very important in order to understand Japanese food aesthetics, as explained in the following lines.

One day, strolling on a mountain path, I saw in a garden a pond full of big carps (*koi*, *Cyprinus Carpio*). Amused, my companion explained to me that among countryside (*inaka*) people, carps were still considered a symbol of prosperity, so those beasts would never be eaten. They swam peacefully, silent testimonies of their master's well being. Then she added that, for the same reason, the smaller version of the carp is called “gold fish” (*kingyo*). As a child, in Italy, I wondered why in english it was “golden” and in italian it was “red”. It is clearly red, to me, but when it swims in clear water, beautiful golden glimpses can be seen. So was it red or golden?

Calling a fish after its chromatic dynamic qualities implies a special attention devoted to the world of reflexes, and images in motion.

The famous novelist Junichiro Tanizaki reveals a similar attention towards light and reflexes. In his famous “In Praise of Shadows” (*In'ei raisan*) he describes the special beauty of the *maki e* lacquered furniture with these words: «Lacquerware decorated in gold is not something to be seen in a brilliant light, to be taken in at a single glance; it should be left in the dark, a part here and a part there, picked up by a faint light[...]. The sheen of the lacquer, set out in the night, reflects the wavering candlelight [...]. *Indeed the thin, impalpable, faltering light, picked up as though little rivers were running through the room, collecting little pools here and there, lacquers a pattern on the surface of the night itself*». Tanizaki wrote extensively about food and eating, in this context of secretive, precious and reserved *impalpable, faltering lights*. I wonder if something of the melancholy sight with which he observed the beauties of his Country, on the verge of being immensely transformed by the outside world, for a long time banished, if something of this gaze is left in the eye of a young Tokyoite, perched on the stool of a steamy *ramenya*, shooting his noodles bowl with the “food” filter of his Nikon.

A multi-partecipated ethnography of Mazurka Klandestina: intimacy at the time of social networks

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This paper aims to present some preliminary data from an ongoing ethnographic research about “Mazurka Klandestina”. It is a community of dancers born in Milan in 2008 which, spreading through social networks, has progressively created an extensive network throughout the country. Milan, Rome, Turin, Florence, Naples: urban spaces usually devoted to common uses (e.g. squares, streets, gardens) become for a whole night a sort of dance floor hosting hundreds of people united by their passion for mazurka and other popular dances. The main goal of these practices – defined “clandestine” because they take place in public spaces without necessary permits – is dancing and having fun, but the poetic manifesto of Mazurka Klandestina also highlights other prerogatives: the need to claim the right to use public spaces out of commercial channels, the importance of

revitalizing the city by experiencing new ways to live its places, the need to regain, by a very intimate and sensual dance, an ecstatic behavior that the mainstream of contemporary society seems to have forgotten. The choreutic performances of Mazurka Klandestina operate as “tactics of resistance” which creatively and intensively express different forms of dissent: against ordinary fruition of urban spaces, against commercialization of recreational activities and, above all, against the way society establishes and manages physical contact in interpersonal relationships.

I chose a multi-situated methodology for my fieldwork, which takes shape on one hand through several and often heated discussions in the Facebook group (a virtual field), on the other through real and extremely physical and “close” meetings (a traditional field). From this point of view, the direct involvement of the researcher into the choral practices was vital to grasp the more “ineffable” and “sensitive” aspects of the research: from the strategies of invitation to dance, often exclusively visual, to the “eyes-closed” dance as a rite of passage and as symbolic capital of experienced dancers. Among all perceptual modalities generally involved in the practices of couple dances, the touch assumes a central role in this specific ethnographic context – especially considering that this sense has been progressively confined to the margins of the western hierarchy of forms of knowledge. Communication passing through the body generally implies adherence to a set of proxemic and socially shared conventions, a code prescribing personal spaces which is symbolic, implicit, and yet “impassable”, except through forms of violence. Bodily borders regulate social relations in public spaces and have relegated physical contact to the private sphere (family, partners, friends). In this sense, Mazurka Klandestina performances become the mouthpiece of a social demand of physical contact (often conceptualized in terms of “disease” and “contagion”) and intimacy, suggesting at the same time a new way of relating to each other through the communicative language of the body, the touch, the skin - be it with daily friends or an unknown “man of the crowd”.

The “very close” bodily contact implied in this dance practices gives rise to emotional experiences that do not call into question only the sphere of sexuality, but rather a “sensuality” meant as an expressive modality becoming a tool for knowledge of the Self and the Other. Despite being confined to the transient and ephemeral space of a dance, the pleasure arising from the possibility to communicate with the partner only using the bodily language results in a unique experience for the intensity and the “magic” it is characterized by. The performances of Mazurka Klandestina offer a space of radical intensification of sensuality where “socio-sensual experiments” occur. In that space we witness the emergence of new, more “free” and immediate modes to enter into communication with the unknown, the stranger. Furthermore, sensory experiences arising in this context – although lived in different ways according to individual life stories – are not confined to individual or couple dimension originating instead a sort of “collective skin” in which is possible to test new forms of *communitas*, new ways of being together.

In this sense, the “rub” – an expression at first used by the veterans of folk dances to characterize, between irony and moral judgment, the way of dancing of the youngest – has become now the hallmark of the “klandestino style”, a sign of belonging and at the same time distinction within the vast and varied landscape of traditional dances.

Esperienze sensoriali, creazioni artistiche e “pratiche di partecipazione” nel Maghreb in rivolta

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Quale etnografia? La corporeità, i sensi e la ricerca dell'inedito come approcci metodologici.

A partire da una ricerca etnografica pluriennale sulla produzione artistica contemporanea in Tunisia e in Marocco, in particolare nelle sue espressioni giovanili *underground* (Paola Gandolfi, *Rivolte in atto*, Mimesis, 2012) l'obiettivo di questo contributo è di riflettere, da un lato, su come nel condurre una ricerca etnografica i sensi entrino in gioco nella misura in cui contribuiscono – talora con forza e talora con delicatezza quasi invisibile - al farsi stesso del lavoro sul campo. Un primo livello di

analisi intende interrogarsi intorno ad un'attenzione critica ai paesaggi sonori, visivi, olfattivi, tattili, gustativi attraverso cui percepiamo e interpretiamo le pratiche culturali che sono al centro delle nostre ricerche. Considerando il rapporto filosofico tra percezioni sensoriali e conoscenza della realtà, si intende riflettere intorno alla questione dell' "inganno" dei sensi, così come delle "tattiche" dei sensi, ma anche del prezioso strumento del "sesto senso" in quanto fattori essenziali e compresenti all'interno di un percorso di ricerca qualitativa. Il tentativo è di aprire un dibattito, di natura metodologica e teorica, sulle "memorie dei sensi" nei lavori sul campo e su quanto e come le storie siano raccontabili attraverso i sensi. Il tutto a partire da una ricerca etnografica che, per la sua specificità, ci fa interagire con le percezioni e le esperienze sensoriali attraverso le creazioni artistiche contemporanee.

La ricerca che presentiamo indaga la produzione artistica contemporanea, in particolare giovanile ed alternativa, in relazione agli attuali processi di cambiamento e di rivolta nei paesi maghrebini, con l'idea di comprendere quanto essa avesse già da tempo espanso orizzonti creativi capaci di supportare "alternative rivoluzionarie." Le creazioni dei movimenti artistici giovanili, sia prima dei processi di rivolta, sia ora (in questa delicata e difficile fase di transizione) risultano contesti esemplari per misurare il grado di *mantenimento dello spazio pubblico* e di *pratiche di partecipazione*.

In questo contesto, stimoli visivi, letture, suoni, esperienze pratiche, *performances* multisensoriali allenano la percezione della realtà, rendendola talora più consapevole e permettendo di confrontare i fruitori delle creazioni artistiche con un "inedito". In quanto ricercatori, non solo ci confrontiamo qui con alcune pratiche artistiche in quanto "esplorazioni del possibile" ma, ad un ulteriore livello, possiamo intravedere un nesso tra un'esplorazione sensoriale, un'esplorazione del possibile o dell'inedito della realtà e un'idea di metodologia della ricerca che contempi pienamente nel suo percorso il sensoriale ma anche "l'inedito", ovvero ciò che esprime un "dissenso" rispetto al percepibile.

Infine, considerato l'oggetto di ricerca, ci si interroga su quanto nella Tunisia e nel Marocco contemporanei le creazioni artistiche quali i graffiti, le video installazioni, il teatro di strada, le *performances* di vario genere coinvolgano il *corpo* degli artisti e il *corpo* del pubblico e il rapporto tra di essi in modo talora innovativo o alternativo. A partire dunque da un'attenzione ai corpi e al loro agire e reagire, anche in relazione e in funzione dei sensi, l'idea è di ragionare intorno ad una possibilità di indagare la realtà che rimetta al centro il corpo e la corporeità. Allo stesso tempo, la proposta è di interrogarsi intorno a nuove "pratiche di partecipazione" nei contesti maghrebini contemporanei anche a partire dai linguaggi artistici, dal ruolo e dall'uso del corpo e dalle molteplici esperienze e pratiche sensoriali. La ricerca suggerisce, infatti, quanto al centro degli attuali processi di cambiamento in paesi come la Tunisia e il Marocco vi siano proprio il corpo e le possibilità per esso di muoversi altrimenti nello spazio pubblico.

Con esemplificazioni e riferimenti ad una tale ricerca specifica tra creazioni artistiche, esperienze sensoriali e pratiche di partecipazione nel Maghreb contemporaneo, questo contributo desidera dunque aprire un dibattito, in ambito etnografico, su approcci metodologici attenti alla complessità dei paesaggi sonori, visivi, olfattivi in cui le ricerche si realizzano (e i corpi interagiscono). Un dibattito non nuovo e non facile, con un'attenzione tutta particolare ad alcune specifiche che la nostra contemporaneità e la complessità di alcuni processi di cambiamento sociali e culturali, oggi, ci propongono.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF DISASTERS: HISTORY, RESISTANCE, STRUGGLES

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ETHNOGRAPHY OF DISASTERS I.

“CIVIL” AND GLOBAL DISASTERS: CITIZENSHIP AND DECISION MAKING PROCESSES

Thursday 5th 16.00-19.00 – 6 SA

Negotiating Normalcy in a State of Toxic Uncertainty: The Fukushima Nuclear Crisis and the Politics of 3.11

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The March 2011 earthquake, subsequent tsunami and nuclear disaster in Fukushima Japan stand among the most significant crises in modern history. Although precipitated by the most powerful earthquake in Japanese history (the 5th strongest ever recorded worldwide) and a once in a millennium tsunami that devastated 400 kilometers of villages on the eastern coast of Tohoku, the nuclear crisis is now widely regarded as a manmade calamity, which was prefigured by a lack of regulatory oversight, governmental corruption and institutional neglect. Despite public outrage that resulted in the defeat of the governing Democratic Party of Japan, which presided over the inept response to the crisis, and a reinvigorated anti-nuclear movement that brought previously disengaged and apathetic citizens into civil society, scarcely a year after the crisis developed the long-standing Liberal Democratic Party was returned to power on a nationalist platform that promised to restart Japan's 54 nuclear reactors and buttress the nuclear industry despite widespread public opposition. Because the Japanese nuclear crisis has affected the politics of nuclear energy throughout the world, and has profound implications for the long-term viability of this technology, this paper examines how both the Japanese and international “nuclear village” has responded to this crisis, incorporating lessons-learned into their design protocols and industry policy, while pushing back against their most strident critics.

In the aftermath of 3.11 Japan has struggled to restore its international reputation and local authority after the damage incurred by the government's inept response to the nuclear crisis. As the government continues to address an array of unprecedented domestic concerns, including recovery of the region most affected by the disaster and the long-term environmental impact of the nuclear disaster, it must also regain the trust of foreign governments and their constituencies. The Fukushima incident was a uniquely international event that was unprecedented in the annals of nuclear energy. Unlike Chernobyl, where strict government control, the lack of any initial meaningful media coverage and the prevailing politics of the Cold War framed the response, or Three-Mile Island, which remained a largely domestic concern, the Fukushima nuclear disaster quickly took on global dimensions, as foreign governments and their constituencies responded with alarm to what appeared to be an uncontrolled disaster, whose effects conceivably could extend far beyond Japan. In Japan, foreign government embassies and consulates faced the challenge of appeasing the concerns of their expatriate citizens, while providing logistical support to Japan in the tsunami relief efforts and the nuclear crisis.

This paper will examine how foreign governments interfaced with the Japanese government and its agencies, and attempted to impose their crisis management policies while maintaining relations with

Japan as an important ally for their economic and political agendas. Based on in-depth qualitative interviews with Japanese public officials, foreign embassy staff, nuclear industry officials who worked the crisis, and NGO activists, this paper analyzes how state-level actors have negotiated a sense of normalcy with their constituencies in a situation of continuing uncertainty, and consider the long-term prospects of the nuclear crisis for Japan's domestic politics and international relations.

As the Fukushima nuclear crisis has waned from a dramatic episode to a long-term, chronic condition, the status of public health remains a grave concern. Especially in the Tohoku region, radiation exposure and food safety have become central public health issues. Over time, as the immediate crisis has abated, concerns about long-term radiation exposure have emerged, bringing issues of well-being related to the quality of life while residing in a condition of toxic uncertainty to the forefront. This paper will also examine how the Japanese government, in consultation with international regulatory authorities, is attempting to implement standards and enforce policy that will gain Japanese public acceptance and international sanction. While the Japanese government continues its long-term plans for decontamination and is imposing strict food safety standards, citizen groups have begun radiation monitoring because they have lost faith in the government's ability to manage the crisis. These groups – numbering in the hundreds – are loosely aligned with the anti-nuclear movement, but represent a new moment in Japanese politics, as their members were not previously politically engaged. In addition to evaluating the underlying assumptions and conclusions and that are being derived from both government protocols and the compensatory actions of these citizen radiation monitoring groups, this paper will analyze how Japanese notions of safety are constructed in communities most affected by the nuclear crisis, consider how governments are responding to this dynamic, and discuss how local social movements have developed to address these concerns.

The Isochimica factory as a paradigm of industrial relations in the South of Italy between modernity and backwardness.

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Isochimica is a plant which was established in the city of Avellino (Campania, South of Italy) in 1982, in order to remove asbestos panels from railway carriages for commission of Ferrovie dello Stato (FS – Italian National Railway company). Notwithstanding the very short time of activity (from 1982 to 1988), the damages produced by this factory in terms of environmental pollution and public health are extensive. Indeed, due to the dispersal of asbestos fibres, a large part of the workers employed in the factory has contracted asbestos-related pathologies and is still struggling to claim basic rights such as early retirement and the recognition of work-related illness. Ten of the workers have already died.

This is what emerges from an inquiry that has been conducted with the research group URiT (Unità di Ricerca sulle Topografie sociali – Research Unit on Social Topography), which analyses the Isochimica case as a metaphor of a universal condition.

My work, in particular, aims at reconstructing the general context in which the events took place through the voices of former workers, local inhabitants and institutional actors. Hence, it attempts to describe the social and political failure of the establishment of this plant, which resulted in death and illness for both the local population and labour force.

Moreover, the research endeavours to make a political exercise by giving voice to the men and women whose bodies have been inevitably marked by the *asbestos biocide*. Indeed, the Isochimica case can be interpreted as a paradigm of late liberalism's logics, which capitalize life and consequently evaluate death as a casual variable.

From a methodological point of view, the research is the result of a meticulous analysis of different sorts of sources: parliamentary acts concerning the earthquake that devastated the city of Avellino in 1980, administrative acts (all relevant resolutions adopted by the city council from 1982 to 1991), health-related union actions against FS, legal proceedings presented by former workers and the

“Asbestos dossier” on Officine Grandi Riparazioni (OGR – Great Repair Workshop).

The study of these sources has been complemented by 2 years of participant observation, which involved direct engagement in political assemblies, protests and debates organized by the former workers of the factory and local population. Moreover, a deeper understanding of the matter has been achieved by conducting interviews with workers and other social and political actors who played a role in these events.

The asbestos factory, as it has been defined, appears as a case of industrial experimentation in the context of peripheral late liberalism. In this view, the plant is a consequence of the post-earthquake economic shock that marked the shift from a rural economy to a “recovery” industrial development (Klein 2007). In other words, Isochimica is one of the “earthquake factories” established in Campania and Basilicata in those years.

Indeed, the earthquake seems to provide the local ruling class the necessary discursive elements to construct a state of emergency (Ferguson 1990; Crush 1995), which paves the way for the public request of a new regional developmental plan (Caporale 2004). This plan is achieved through a series of emergency legislations (Legge n.219 del 14/05/1981 e la Legge n. 140 del 16/04/1981), which bring about not only a copious distribution of state financial aid, but also the redefinition of this territory as an *urban underclass* space and the reproduction of a rhetoric of perpetual emergency.

As a consequence of these emergency discourses, the space of the factory becomes an *underclass* space in which subaltern subjects (Spivak 2004) conduct a life that “ oscillates between unemployment and chronic underemployment, and inhabit spatially isolated areas” (Paone 2010 p.157, translated by author).

Hence, the discursive apparatus that has been built on the Isochimica case has transformed the factory into an experimental model for the industrial restructuring plan of the Cratere area.

Also worth of notice is that the executive board of the factory enjoyed a certain degree of political consensus among the civil society at the time of the establishment of the factory. In particular, the CEO Elio Graziano was depicted by the public opinion as a self made man who was able to revitalize the local economy.

However, the successful image of the entrepreneur was certainly not the factor that pushed FS to subcontract the sanitation of its railroad carriages to Isochimica.

Surprisingly, this task was given to Isochimica despite the fact that the state enterprise (FS) was endowed with a special department for the maintenance and sanitation of railroad carriages (OGR - Great Repair Workshop). As a consequence, the decontamination of the carriages was carried out in absence of the necessary hygienic standards and, as explained by a former worker of the plant, “the asbestos panels were removed outdoors in the railroad station, with no protection for the workers” .

Hence, the externalization of sanitation operations has not been driven by efficiency criteria, but has been the consequence of a wider process of labour reorganization and privatization taking place in the state company FS. This attempt to achieve flexibility through outsourcing has introduced a series of processes that undermined the power of labour unions (Sennet 2002), which, at that time, were struggling to obtain legal protection for the workers affected by asbestos related diseases under the principle of the right to health.

Therefore, the Isochimica case anticipates some late liberal strategies such as the institutionalization of development agencies, the planification of privatization processes and the clientelization as a flexible form of recruitment of the labour force.

The paper aims at analysing the processes of recruitment and resistance of the workers, as they represent – in the context of the complex evolution of wage labour – a sign of the global transformation of the capitalistic production system and the representation of late liberal policies.

These processes are justified by the discourses on southern Italian backwardness, which have produced, over the years, a series of underground economies, professional diseases and neo-slaves that could be interpreted as specific characteristics of the modernity (Palidda 2012).

Therefore, of the former Isochimica workers could be considered representative of the fate of the whole southern Italian Region, which anticipates the dynamics of subjugation of subaltern subjects

that characterize contemporary peripheral modernity (Spivak 2004). In this view, the “asbestos factory” is a laboratory for the processes of governmentality that manage and control territories and populations through the destruction of lands, the exploitation of natural resources and the brutalization of industrial relations (Petrillo 2011).

Resistere ai disastri: una lettura del ruolo della leadership organizzativa

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L'attività di anticipazione e contenimento di possibili disastri è divenuta in questi anni una parte sempre più importante del funzionamento delle organizzazioni contemporanee. Molte aree del lavoro organizzativo sono caratterizzate infatti da situazioni che presentano un livello crescente di complessità e incertezza, che rende particolarmente difficile i processi di decisione e intervento (Perrow, 1984; Reason, 2000). All'interno di tale scenario si è assistito pertanto allo sviluppo di due filoni di ricerca dedicati rispettivamente alla gestione del rischio e delle crisi, in funzione della prevenzione e risoluzione degli eventi critici che, attraverso un'evoluzione catastrofica, possono arrivare a minacciare l'esistenza stessa delle organizzazioni (Hollnagel, Woods, Levinson, 2006; Moore, Lakha, 2006; Lagadec, 1993; Coombs, 2007; Catino, 2013). Le indagini in tale direzione hanno prodotto utili analisi e strumenti operativi, indirizzati soprattutto a rassicurare gli investitori e il pubblico rispetto alla capacità dell'organizzazione di minimizzare l'incertezza e mantenere la situazione sotto controllo anche in condizioni particolarmente sfavorevoli. Per quanto tali strumenti si siano dimostrati efficaci nella gestione di eventi critici, essi tuttavia non paiono in grado di cogliere il quadro complessivo e strategico, in cui i fattori sociali, economici e tecnologici sono strettamente interrelati. Per molte organizzazioni la necessità di affrontare criticità che possono portare a eventi potenzialmente disastrosi non è più un evento occasionale, ma una condizione permanente, e dunque la gestione del rischio e delle crisi non può essere più considerata come una semplice attività collaterale, ma richiede invece lo sviluppo di un'attitudine consapevole, profondamente integrata e condivisa a tutti i livelli organizzativi.

Da questo punto di vista, gli studi sulle *High Reliability Organizations* (HRO) appaiono in grado di offrire una prospettiva coerente per l'analisi e la gestione dei disastri, evidenziando il ruolo cruciale che il sensemaking svolge nella buona o errata gestione degli eventi “inattesi” da parte delle strutture organizzative (Roberts; 1993; Sutcliffe, Weick, 2010). Inoltre l'approccio HRO, prendendo spunto dall'analisi di organizzazioni particolarmente esposte a situazioni potenzialmente disastrose come vigili del fuoco, impianti nucleari o reti di distribuzione dell'energia, fornisce delle linee guida operative in termini di principi di anticipazione e contenimento che possono essere adottati anche da organizzazioni “normali” al fine di impedire il verificarsi di disastri.

Una dimensione particolarmente rilevante messa in luce da tali studi riguarda il ruolo della leadership in quanto fattore che può concorrere a promuovere o, viceversa, contrastare l'insorgenza di situazioni disastrose (Baker, Day, Salas, 2006; Frankel, Leonard, Denham, 2006; Alvesson, Spicer, 2012). Nella nostra ricerca abbiamo pertanto indagato tale ruolo attraverso un percorso d'indagine che, utilizzando metodi sia qualitativi e quantitativi, ha inteso 1) rintracciare gli elementi che contraddistinguono una gestione positiva della leadership da parte delle HRO in situazioni di emergenza, 2) esplorare in che misura sia effettivamente possibile trasferire tali elementi positivi da organizzazioni HRO a organizzazioni “normali”.

Per approfondire tali questioni nel corso della ricerca abbiamo analizzato due casi esemplari di successo e insuccesso nella gestione di un potenziale disastro (l'atterraggio di emergenza del volo 1549 dell'US Airlines e l'affondamento della Costa Concordia), nei quali la dimensione della leadership si è rivelata una componente particolarmente rilevante per l'evoluzione del caso. L'indagine è stata svolta attraverso l'analisi di materiali quali-quantitativi provenienti da più fonti (filmati, resoconti, interviste, rapporti tecnici) che hanno consentito una ricostruzione articolata e in profondità degli avvenimenti anche attraverso una triangolazione dei diversi dati disponibili. A tale

analisi è poi seguito un approfondimento condotto presso un ente pubblico di ampie dimensioni, coinvolgendo in tale parte dell'indagine la dirigenza apicale di tale struttura al fine di comprendere se gli elementi rintracciati attraverso la lettura dei casi precedenti potevano offrire non solo una lente interpretativa rispetto agli stili di leadership presenti in un'organizzazione "normale", ma anche delle linee guida appropriate rispetto alla gestione di eventi critici che tale ente si trova sempre più spesso ad affrontare. Anche questa parte dell'indagine è stata svolta attraverso l'utilizzo di metodi misti, in particolare attraverso la somministrazione del questionario MOS-R (*Mindfulness Organizing Scale Revised*) e la realizzazione di interviste semistrutturate condotte con 48 dirigenti dell'ente.

I dati del questionario e delle interviste sono stati successivamente analizzati e rielaborati con l'utilizzo di SPSS per la parte quantitativa, e dell'IPA (*Interpretative phenomenological analysis*) e di Atlas-ti per quanto riguarda i dati qualitativi.

I risultati emersi dal lavoro di ricerca evidenziano come la gestione efficace degli eventi potenzialmente disastrosi sia effettivamente influenzata, sia a livello di strutture HRO che "normali", dal modello di leadership incorporato all'interno della cultura organizzativa. Il modello tuttora prevalente, che trova anche ampia risonanza presso il grande pubblico, fa riferimento a una forma di leadership "eroica" che poco ha a che fare con l'attività effettiva di gestione efficace di casi critici all'interno del gruppo di lavoro. Tale visione "eroica" inoltre si espone frequentemente al rischio del suo rovesciamento in negativo, a posteriori, attraverso la trasformazione del leader in unico capro espiatorio del disastro. Viceversa lo studio mostra come l'efficacia degli interventi di anticipazione e contenimento degli eventi critici sia legata alla costruzione di una leadership critica, basata sullo sviluppo di alcuni elementi chiave:

- attenzione al ruolo dei followers: l'enfasi quasi esclusiva sul ruolo del leader porta a sottovalutare sistematicamente l'apporto cruciale dei followers rispetto alla tenuta dei sistemi organizzativi, in particolare di fronte al verificarsi di situazioni a rischio;
- decisioni migranti: l'implementazione di scelte, particolarmente nei casi ad alta criticità, è tanto più incisiva quanto più è legata all'*expertise* del decisore anziché al suo ruolo formale all'interno della gerarchia dell'organizzazione;
- equilibrio di potere: le situazioni critiche evidenziano in modo chiaro i limiti del modello onnipotente di leadership, ma al tempo stesso anche il pericolo di cadere per contrapposizione nel suo opposto, ossia nell'assenza di guida di fronte a situazioni a rischio.

Il quadro che emerge dall'indagine indica pertanto che lo sviluppo di una forma di leadership pragmatica e "a sovranità limitata" non solo risulta particolarmente efficace in organizzazioni che affrontano quotidianamente eventi potenzialmente disastrosi, ma presenta effetti benefici anche per organizzazioni le cui decisioni hanno un impatto apparentemente più indiretto, ma non per questo meno dirompente sulla vita delle persone.

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Wounded Places. The role of Testimony in the Healing Process: The Diaz School of Genoa G8
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In the social contexts where phenomena of violence occurred, people tend to return to some particular places to cope with a difficult psychological revisiting characterized by painful feelings and emotions. Although these places have their own material and social-functional condition, they are described as having a symbolic and affective meaningfulness that can't be eliminated. These are places that become part of the people's interiority and then experienced through intimate relationships that people have.

Wounded places are places full of pain and embody a difficult past of violence (Till, 2008). In addition the sufferings of the past convey an ethical component. In fact the memory of what happened becomes a "deposit of lessons" to help those who live in the present so that certain events don't happen again in the future: memory denounces injustices and requires the protection of human rights (Misztal, 2004). In conclusion, memory becomes a duty passed on to future generations (Booth, 1999).

With frequency, it has been noted that the representations of the past elaborated and transmitted by different social groups are often divided, when they are not openly in conflict, and how the space and the public story of memory are often an arena in which the conflict between different narrative representations of the same past find a modality of articulation. It is precisely in social practices such as commemorative rituals that the ambivalence between the memory as a tool for the creation of the community bond and the memory as a symbolic resource for the production of conflicts between different social groups takes shape and reveals itself (cfr. Hackett, Rolston, 2009; Hajek, 2010; Rigny, 2008). Especially in view of a controversial past that still engages the present in a common work of a shared memory, these places can be the focus of opposed initiatives. For instance, the authorities engaged in turning the page collide with the social actions of groups of activists who would rather witness what happened and transmit it to future generations.

The care of the wounded places is functional for the memory but it is also at the service of a process of collective and individual healing. Thus commemorative practices of groups of activists become a "group therapy" and the wounded places become their "setting". The efforts of "supervision" that individuals and social groups put in place to protect the wounded places should not be surprising. In fact social psychology and urban sociology repeatedly highlighted the importance of the places for the well-being of individuals and communities.

The Places of Genoa G8

The events that happened during the Genoa G8 2001 have indelibly marked the city. Some of the scenarios mentioned in those days have converted their original urban function becoming places of collective memory. These include Alimonda Square, Bolzaneto Barracks and the Diaz School. Public spaces that are imbued with the events that took place there. Building sites that continue to forge memories. As if the same places become the witnesses. But the same places, even in the name of their original function, have a precarious sense. In fact, they are always exposed to a reshuffling of meanings because the G8 memory is not a shared memory.

The policy of memory adopted publicly by the institutional agencies was, and still is, based on a will to "turn the page" (Zamperini, Menegatto, 2013), symbolically and physically trying to remove the traces of those events. Conversely the demonstrators' action at that time and the committees born later are aimed at contrasting oblivion and taking care of the wounded places. A conflict between the will to forget and the will to remember that continues to mark the Italian collective life in post G8. Here we analyze the psychosocial process that have affected the Diaz School after the night called "Mexican Butcher".

A Wounded School

The Diaz School became the final destination of the march that every year the committees formed after the G8 Summit organize to commemorate the events of Genoa. A path that winds through the streets and then stops in front of the locked gates of the School. In the Diaz School the action of the authorities to try to turn the page while still preserving the original educational value was simply to close the doors to demonstrators. Repeatedly demonstrators that were beaten inside asked to come back to relive for a second time those events and rooms, driven by therapeutic and reminiscent instances. That school building designed by an architect to accommodate pupils has become a space of identity for who is not a pupil and has not been a pupil there.

Anyone who has experienced a night in the Diaz School, now perceives the physical structure as a fundamental part of his actual existence. Although the authorities have claimed for a long time to understand the symbolic necessity to return to Diaz, for over ten years they have never allowed the building to become a place of witnessing the violence, believing that the locations suitable for the commemoration were other.

However the act of testifying can't be separated from the places that have generated memory because the places have become a domestic space of one's own life, a place we can always come back because it has indelible marks.

Certainly in the witnesses' minds there are painful memories; where the material dimension has been contaminated with the psychological dimension. However, the aching character that oozes from the walls reports a discontinued project and stresses the appropriation of the forbidden places to citizenship; because the "red zone" has been maintained over time showing an analogy with what happened during the G8 days. There a fence was put around the old town and the port area. Here lies the Diaz School. A sort of torsion of the spatiality of the summit in terms of memory, giving rise to a forbidden zone to the memories and subjective new elaboration of the events.

Back to School. To Remember and to Heal

Twelve years after the Genoa G8 Summit, the new headmaster of the Diaz School has decided to open the doors to the victims of police violence.

The final part of this paper will focus on the analysis of this ceremony and its staging as a "group therapy" mediated by social communication. Through the analysis of videos and print sources we will particularly highlight as the representation of the healing the representation of healing is made possible by the abolition of social repression and the restitution of a "spatial memory" through the abolition of social repression and the restitution of a "spatial memory". In this way the stifled emotions are replaced in the societal circuit also taking on the form of "tears of claim".

Roșia Montană: the disaster already or the disaster to come?

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The Romanian village Roșia Montană is said to be the site of Europe's largest gold and silver deposits. Plans to extract these precious metals were launched in the late nineties by the Roșia Montană Gold Corporation (RMGC), a joint venture between a Canadian-based mining company and the Romanian State. Gold exploitation at Roșia Montană is not a new practice, Roșia Montană being not a virgin territory in which the discovery of gold is surprising. The ancient mining town – actually the first documented place in Romania – is part of a geological area renowned for its richness in precious metals and has since Antiquity an almost uninterrupted practice of gold exploitation. The RMGC's project introduced however novelties such as exploitation by a company with mostly private (and foreign) capital, and especially building a massive industrial complex engulfing Roșia Montană and two small nearby villages in order to exploit the huge ore deposits discovered, hence causing the displacement of around 2 000 people. Moreover, the area also includes a rich archaeological site, with vestiges dating from the Roman and mediaeval periods. Gold extraction would be undertaken in four surface quarries of a size that would make the mine at

Roșia Montană the largest surface mine in Europe. The company also plans the building of a processing plant in which the separation of gold and silver from the ore will be done by means of cyanide-leaching technology. The tailings resulting from this process would be stored in a pond (a tailings management facility) that would completely cover an entire valley and the nearby village Corna. The Roșia Montană Project met with strong opposition from various social players who coalesced in the 'Save Roșia Montană' movement, thus generating a long-lasting controversy that exceeded local boundaries and making Roșia Montană internationally renowned. The initial plans of the RMGC anticipated that it would obtain the first gold ingot in 2005. At the time of writing (February 2014), the mining project announced at the end of the last century is far from being put into practice and there is no certainty that it will ever be. The controversy generated by this mining project makes Roșia Montană more than just a Romanian village whose history is known and which can be easily situated geographically. Roșia Montană has become a polemic social object, the source of an unprecedented phenomenon in Romania's history, a country in which environmentalism as a factor of explaining the opposition to the mining project is not a tradition.

The ongoing conflict over Roșia Montană was the object of study in a wider research program which focused on the social representations emerged in Romanian society due to this conflict. In analyzing social dynamics, the conflict between groups was interpreted in terms of a struggle between polemic social representations, contrasting interpretations or "forms of truth" about Roșia Montană created and circulated in society with a view to action, i.e. to determine the start or the annulment of the mining project.

My contribution to the session "Ethnography of disasters: history, resistances, struggles" will offer a summarized view of the development of incompatible social representations generated in the Roșia Montană conflict by the main social actors, whose goals related to the future of Roșia Montană are deeply incompatible. On the one side, the mining company, which obviously aims financial gain, and on the other side, the more diffuse group of actors engaged in the "Save Roșia Montană" campaign, who declared their intention to block the realization of the mining project on environmental, cultural, legal, economic and ethical grounds. This symbolic competition over Roșia Montană will be discussed here.

The main findings show that through their mobilizing actions and discourses, these players shaped representational systems in order to create social realities, or "collective fictitious entities" (Bentham quoted by Moscovici, 2001, p. 18) that serve their own vision and interests and hence unite people in a particular interpretation of the Roșia Montană affair.

Roșia Montană's 'fictitious entities' are generally dual: over the last fifteen years of conflict, Roșia Montană has been portrayed as poor or rich, old-fashioned or modern, industrial or agricultural, "green" or "red" from pollution by communist industrialization, and as either historic enough to be included in UNESCO's world heritage or as a traditional mining town. While the corporate side attempted to create the image of a troubled and empty town in need of help, NGO's were producing the 'Save Roșia Montană' campaign by portraying Roșia Montană as unspoiled and pristine, as a beautiful place and community, a place of sacred spirituality and national identity threatened by the corporate plans. The mining project was either presented as an economic and ecological solution for Roșia Montană's development and restoration, or as an unacceptable environmental risk that would eventually lead to Roșia Montană's doom while at the same time negatively affecting the entire area because of cyanide use. The involvement of foreign investors was either perceived as a mutually beneficial, natural course of action in Romania's transition to global capitalism, or as the detrimental plunder of national resources.

Regardless of the position towards the gold mine project, both parts in the conflict adopt the theme of disaster when referring to Roșia Montană: in the corporate discourse the *disaster* (consisting in the social and economic backwardness but also in the environmental degradation of that area) was already there and their mine will be the sole remedy for it; the 'Save Roșia Montană' movement attributes the causes of the 'already there' *disaster* to the mining company itself – because having negatively affected through its presence the life of the previously peaceful Roșia Montană community –, while seeing the *disaster* to come inevitably if the mine will ever be built.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF DISASTERS II.

"NATURAL" DISASTERS: STATES OF EXCEPTION AND RESISTANCES

Friday 6th 16.00-19.00 – 7 SA

Rethink themselves with Saints among the rubble

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The 2009 L'Aquila earthquake (6.3 Mw) hit a city of 70.000 inhabitants with more than 70 small localities spread over a complex and huge region. Although the state of emergency is officially over, today the old historical centers of all these villages are still closed by visible and invisible barriers and their inhabitants are still living in 19 New Towns (built by National Dept of Civil Protection, that is the Italian Government) and several villages of wood housing units, located in new residential areas in derogation from the rules in force.

Inserted into a neoliberal framework, the earthquake management covers on the one hand a humanitarian technology building a hegemonic relationship whereby the subjects fall in a governed massification, where time and space management shapes -in the name of compassion and legitimised by a techno-centric standardization of the disaster- the common sense of the involved subjects thanks to an "Italian way" of emergency management. In fact, a massmediatic show and the miraculous appearance of a governmentality that takes charge of people's lives relies on a catholic background that well feeds the construction of the earthquake victim as one who should not complain, but rather must help and support (for God to help him), and then do by himself.

On the other hand, biopolitics engages in the reiteration of a cultural trauma and hit, through displacement, the symbolic imagery and the spaces of relational practices that allowed subjects to feel themselves citizens.

Living a displacement where space is there and not there - it is a non-overlapping here in a post elsewhere, surrounded by modular elsewhere assigned by a logarithm - throws out subjects from history so that they find themselves in an excess of memory production; this production forces them to a daily reinterpretation work, after two and a half years after the earthquake. This process gives a sense to an interpretive anthropology of spaces of relational practices which could intercept a micro fluctuating dimension that is hidden in a neoliberal biopolitics of risk optimization for the urgent need to restore security after an emergency. It is precisely because of this excess of memory, in which each visible stone could be a potential *churinga*, that everything becomes a memory, but a memory whose interpretation has yet to be interweaved with the future: that's why going to the cemetery of one of these towns (where it usually punctuates the continuity with its own history and its own memory), over the gravestones of victims of the earthquake, and only and just next to them, it still remains today exposed the everyday objects of the victim, a plush, a sticker, a knick-knack.

My paper develops from a 6 months field research made two and a half years after the earthquake in Paganica, one of the hardest hit places by the earthquake and the most populous district of L'Aquila (approx. 4000 inhabitants but today with at least 2500 people living in the New Town built by the Government), and tries to understand the processes of memory performance of lost places through the post-earthquake revival of a Saint feast, St. John's (the patron of the most affected part of Paganica). Through its birth, its organization, social networks and places involved and its own staging, this festival offers a unique point of view to analyze the tactics of those social actors involved in the reconstruction of an *imagined community* after the "disaster".

In fact, the relationship between time of trauma and *displacement*, and the need for *future*, for *emplacement* and for *re-entering* into its own history reveal how the place attachment can be made explicit through the activation of a dialectic between past and present, between history and memory. It is therefore possible, through these practices of history/memory and emplacement, to analyze the rethinking of the subjects themselves as citizens through the self-representation of their own *community horizon*.

Normalizing the disaster? Critique and resistance to biopolitical government of emergency in Aquila's post-earthquake

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Law n.225, on February 24th 1992, structured a specific governmental model of the natural disaster in Italy: the National Service of the Civil Protection. However, such normative and institutional order has been managed in an unbalanced way (Fioritto 2008): most of the material, symbolic and cognitive resources - related to the government of the natural disasters - have been focused on the *post- eventum* phase, namely on the administrative and economic management of calamity's consequences. This *post-eventum* emphasis – *de facto* an emergency model - automatically damaged the preventive sphere of the planning and of the communication of risks (Id).

Aquila's earthquake, on April 6th 2009, was a dramatic confirmation of such unbalance, outlining a specific paradigmaticity. In fact, the governance of disaster applied to Aquila's *post-eventum* can be categorized as a 'government of exception' (Agamben 2003), with an increasing attention of biopolitical care/control of the communities involved. Otherwise stated, this intervention articulated an 'order of the discourse' (Foucault 2004) which defines the catastrophic event (i.e., in this case, the specific socio-environmental impact of the natural event) as an absolutely unpredictable and inevitable fact. E.g., see the administrative act that declares the emergency state and the correlated orders of necessity and urgency: they sanction an "actual and inevitable danger that impends on the interests deserving of protection" (Fioritto 2008, p. 206). In this sense, the emergency device normalizes and spreads a shock from which it is necessary to be protected in a separate space-time. Generally, it is the so-called 'tent city': a humanitarian space for evacuees, as necessary as managed with bio-political norms and practices.

Therefore it is inevitable to wonder what securization is legitimated and implemented by the emergency government of disasters. This implies also a complementary matter, i.e. the symbolic and material consequences related to the populations: what are the effects of such a model of government on the individual/collective ability to manage the 'crisis of presence' (De Martino 1977), as well as on the citizenship rights of advocacy and negotiation within the political processes? The answer to this last question is also the leading hypothesis of the present contribution: the (certainly essential) humanitarian taking charge of the people traumatized by the catastrophic event could produce some 'minoritizing' effects.

In other words, there is a tendency to neglect the dimension of empowerment of collective self-determination, re-establishing in everyday life a mere individual functionality-efficiency, however unable to find in such 'new' condition (reconstruction of a horizon of meaning) the adequate instruments for an informed and incisive common participation.

Therefore, we firstly intend to analyze the biopolitical management of the emergency, in the light of social control within the space of the 'camp' or the 'tent city'. This is pursued with a further objective: to bring out the traits of continuity between the emergency's 'minorization' in the space of the 'camp' and the subsequent neo-liberal management of 'new towns' areas. The intent is to deepen, in its genealogy and in its dynamics of legitimacy, the link between Civil Protection's biopolitical management of post-earthquake and the following phase of emergency's chronicization in the spaces and in the 'permanently - temporary' everyday lives (Rahola 2003) of the M.A.P. and the C.A.S.E. plan.

Hence, we also aim to discuss the most remarkable organized attempts of space re-appropriation and of decision-making processes acted by civil society ("wheelbarrows" movement, Committee 3.32, etc.), including the related issues: fragmentation and discontinuity of mobilization, dialectic with the 'decisiveness' of public institutions, etc.

Overall, from the theoretical-methodological point of view, it is therefore important a reading of the emergency apparatus through an approach that combines social and political philosophy and qualitative research in the aim to analyze the genealogy of a technology of government and the

forms of 'counter- conduct ' with respect to it. Thus, in addition to the critical analysis of research material and the existing literature on the subject, the argumentation of each issue include the realization and the analysis of semi-structured interviews and focus groups with members of 'resistant' associations, as well as with single citizens living in the 'new towns' and coming from the experience of the 'camp areas'.

To stay, no matter what: resistance accounts and hostile practices in a North-East Sicily flooded district.

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In the last thirty years institutions, mass media and both national and international public opinion gradually increased their attention towards what is known as 'natural disaster'. The strengthening of public politics and the multiplying of NGO's interventions in "devastated" contexts facilitated the manifestation of a true *monde de l'urgence* (Revet 2008). A heterogeneous and perpetually under construction world whose main players (technicians and experts) obtained an increasing legitimacy on real or potential risks management and on protection of those populations considered as helpless. At the same time a few national entities enhanced their appeal to the *state of exception's* institution with the resulting increase of situations where citizens' rights can be restricted according to derogations from the rules in force. In Italy, notably, as the philosopher Giorgio Agamben stresses, the reiterated adoption of exceptional measures has been replaced, as time passes, with common practice of territory's administration, justified, nowadays, by the need to pledge safety of people, necessities and services, just as the bio-politic safeguard of the population. Although it is true that an expansion of emergency forms of public life management corresponds widely to a decrease of space and scope in political action, it is equally true that, when narrowing down the overview to a local micro context, it is possible to look at how the strict normativity imposed by declared state of emergency is always negotiated and exposed to a critical process by its players.

The aim of the hereby intervention is the examination of a small local community's reaction to an emergency state declaration issued after a natural exceptional disaster. The ethnographic data proposed relate to Scaletta Zanclea district, located in Messina province, which was, in October 2009, the scene of a forcible flood which traces, like the modified configuration of the territory or the rhetoric and the daily routine of its inhabitant, last till the present day. Initially, the positioning of the flood in a broader historical-political framework, which contributed to define its result, will be necessary to deconstruct the idea of natural disaster, usually linked with the idea of a unexpected and uncontrollable event different from the concept of a technological or anthropic disaster. In the case of Scaletta Zanclea, indeed, 2009 event is just the last, and the more tragic, of a series of natural disasters followed one another in earlier years. This feature turns the flood into a political object used as a dispute towards institutional decisions and interventions considered inappropriate in terms of territory and citizens real needs. It foster, at the same time, the arise of individual pathways of rehabilitation and repossession of places and habits modified by the event.

Among the many possible examples, the attention will be focused on what I consider to be a specific return to normality plan of action. In autumn 2011 the citizens of the district outlined the idea that competent authorities are carrying out surveys in order to determine the effective following of the ban imposed by the Civil Protection on dwelling some properties regarded as temporary dangerous, for which owners detect what is officially defined as "independent accommodation grant" and commonly known as "rent grant".

Such assumption will soon become an effective start of judicial inquiries towards 77 "refugees". Commentaries accompanying the inquiries' news and positions taken by the various actors - institutions, involved parties and public opinion - will be read into the result of the different interpretational ways of understanding the disaster and preside over its effects. Through the analyses of a document published on a few local newspapers, the account of a judicial inquiry, the reasons why it started and the following results, it will be taken as an account on resistance and

repossession of one's own places and subjectivity and the reactions of a group under investigation opposing to charges addressed them as a way of reconfiguring definitions and categories fixed by the emergency, with the purpose of investigate not what the disaster destroys, but rather what it can create.

Ricerca qualitativa e il fattore di vulnerabilità. Note metodologiche rispetto allo studio della multi-dimensionalità dei processi di vulnerabilizzazione socio-spaziale in un contesto di ricostruzione post-disastro.

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L'impatto sociale di un disastro naturale, lungi dall'essere il semplice prodotto del verificarsi dell'evento distruttivo, ha effetti diversi sulla popolazione colpita. Le perdite esperite dopo un disastro sono il riflesso di vulnerabilità sociali che hanno la loro origine nelle disuguaglianze materiali, socio-economiche e politiche pre-esistenti (Cannon 1994; Maskev 1993; Wisner et al. 2004). Per comprendere e spiegare le conseguenze che trasformano un disastro naturale in una catastrofe sociale, è necessario prendere in considerazione il sistema sociale nel suo insieme (Hewitt, 1984). Nonostante l'eguale esposizione al rischio da parte di gruppi sociali tra loro differenti, le conseguenze derivanti dall'impatto dell'evento distruttivo sono riconducibili alle diverse capacità dei gruppi di fronteggiare l'impatto (Cutter et al. 2000; Wisner et al. 2004).

Seguendo questa prospettiva, la vulnerabilità è stata definita come l'insieme delle caratteristiche di una persona o di un gruppo e del loro contesto che influiscono sulle loro capacità di anticipare, fronteggiare, resistere e recuperare le conseguenze derivanti dall'impatto dell'evento naturale pericoloso (Wisner et al. 2004). In altre parole, la vulnerabilità è intesa come la diversa propensione di gruppi sociali non omogenei tra loro di incorrere in danni di natura fisica, psicologica e sociale. L'impatto di un disastro e la sua variazione tra diversi gruppi è generalmente spiegata attraverso l'utilizzo di variabili esplicative sia di tipo socio-demografico - quali la classe di appartenenza, l'occupazione, il genere, l'età, la razza, l'istruzione - sia relative a condizioni di *specificità* - *disabilità, condizione di migrante (regolare o irregolare), natura e ampiezza delle reti sociali* (Wisner et al., 2004), etc. Il concetto di vulnerabilità si presenta come un prezioso strumento esplicativo in grado di identificare i gruppi della popolazione maggiormente a rischio non solo da un punto di vista fisico e materiale, ma anche nella capacità di accedere alle risorse necessarie in grado di minimizzare i possibili effetti negativi di un disastro.

Il presente *paper*, posizionandosi all'interno di questo specifico dibattito della Disaster Research, cerca di approfondire i limiti dello strumento di analisi di vulnerabilità intesa come misurazione specificatamente quantitativa contestualizzando le dinamiche individuali e familiari di ricollocazione spaziale con l'uso di approcci qualitativi quali l'etnografia o l'uso delle traiettorie abitative.

Le scienze sociali che hanno studiato i disastri, hanno largamente ricorso alla ricerca qualitativa (da ora RQ), alimentando una tradizione di studi di campo² che poche altre branche delle scienze sociali possono vantare (Phillips, 2014). Questa scelta non riguarda un effimero vezzo accademico ma si alimenta della prassi dei ricercatori che hanno costantemente verificato la conciliabilità tra le caratteristiche della RQ e la *Disaster Research*. Soprattutto le declinazioni specifiche che negli ultimi anni hanno animato la ricerca, quali gli studi sulle vulnerabilità di genere, di razza, d'età, classe etc (la maggioranza dei quali, qualitativo) hanno dimostrato empiricamente che senza l'impostazione qualitativa non sarebbe stato possibile dimostrare che socialmente, economicamente e culturalmente le comunità sperimentano realtà diverse da quelle standardizzate e burocraticamente semplificate (Neal & Phillips, 1995).

Il *paper*, frutto di una ricerca sul campo che procede a fasi alterne da quattro anni, mira a restituire i risultati parziali della ricerca sui processi di vulnerabilizzazione post-disastro, ponendo in evidenza i punti critici e quelli di forza dell'approccio qualitativo rispetto allo strumento di misurazione delle vulnerabilità. Come introdotto precedentemente l'obiettivo della ricerca è descrivere le dimensioni

soggettive delle dinamiche socio-spaziali di ricostruzione, nell'ottica legata ai processi di vulnerabilizzazione. In questo contesto, visto l'avanzamento parziale della ricerca dottorale, l'obiettivo non è restituire i risultati ultimi ma mettere in luce il legame d'interdipendenza tra la strategia metodologica e la peculiarità delle dinamiche socio-territoriali percepite dagli abitanti che hanno visto sconvolti i loro habitat prima dal disastro socio-naturale poi dalla ricostruzione.

Il terremoto cileno del 27 febbraio 2010 è stato uno dei più forti che abbia scosso l'umanità; il numero totale delle persone coinvolte è stato stimato in due milioni dei quali l'83% appartenente ai due quintili con minor reddito economico. A tre anni dall'inizio della ricostruzione, il modello applicato sta acutizzando dinamiche problematiche dell'organizzazione sociale urbana. Il piano di ricostruzione elaborato dal Governo è *elaborato secondo un modello d'intervento liberista classico: incentiva le soluzioni offerte dal privato*, relegando lo Stato al ruolo di finanziatore secondo il modello d'intervento liberista classico (Letelier & Boyco, 2011). Le soluzioni abitative sono delegate all'industria immobiliare privata attraverso il finanziamento di buoni statali diretti ai terremotati, seguendo una logica integrativa tra capitale economico familiare e accesso al credito. Tale meccanismo finisce per accelerare le dinamiche urbane d'esclusione che nelle metropoli e nelle città medie latinoamericane sono già in essere, come i processi di polarizzazione socio-territoriale, gentrificazione, etc. sostanzialmente sofferti dai settori vulnerabili dell'ambiente (Renna 2011). Il *plan de reconstrucción* proposto dal governo è accolto con problematicità da ONG, opposizione parlamentare e ambienti accademici, e accompagnato da vibranti proteste dei terremotati che in alcune zone del paese riescono ad organizzarsi e manifestare il proprio dissenso (Reyes, 2011). In questo contesto evidenziamo, tra le differenti dinamiche di esclusione socio-territoriale, quella dell'espulsione dei terremotati appartenenti ai settori socio-economici più deboli dai propri habitat urbani di riferimento (spesso zone centrali o urbanisticamente appetibili) verso le nuove periferie.

Opere citate

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ETHNOGRAPHY OF DISASTERS III

THEMATIC LABORATORY – THE "EARTHQUAKES": SPECULATIONS, SPACE, POLICIES, AND IMAGERY BETWEEN PRACTICES 'FROM BELOW' AND GOVERNMENTALITY

Saturday 7th 9.00-12.00 – 5 SA

Nocera Umbra dieci anni dopo: dia-cronica di un disastro annunciato

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Nella letteratura antropologica nordamericana un disastro è definito come la manifestazione più o meno repentina di un processo di accumulazione di *“vulnerabilità socialmente o tecnologicamente*

prodotta” (Oliver Smith A. & Hoffman S., 2002). In sede italiana, secondo la più recente posizione antropologica, si parla di disastro come costruzione socioculturale derivata dalle “*concezioni locali di rischio*” (Ligi G., 2009). Questa nozione fa diretto riferimento all’antropologa britannica Mary Douglas e, nello specifico, alla sua definizione di rischio, determinato da fattori sociali, etici e politici ben precisi (Douglas M., 1996). Derivando la sua argomentazione da ‘*come percepiamo il pericolo*’ (Douglas M., 1991), una visione culturalista del rischio lo considera un fenomeno sempre costruito, e di conseguenza differentemente interpretabile ed utilizzabile dagli attori sociali e dalle istituzioni. Limitando la catastrofe ad una particolare percezione del rischio, un tale approccio potrebbe avere lo svantaggio di concepire il disastro come un fenomeno localmente ‘intimo’. Riconoscendo che in tal senso si guadagna in accuratezza descrittiva, ci si potrebbe però imbattere nella perdita di estensione e di possibilità comparative, soprattutto in prospettiva di una ricerca antropologica che si interroghi su rischi socioambientali globali. Sempre sul suolo italiano, l’analisi sociologica dell’ I.S.I.G di Gorizia si muove in tutt’altra direzione. Essa considera il disastro come: “*La manifestazione della quantità di non dominazione di un sotto-sistema sulle proprie relazioni con l’ambiente*” (Pellizzoni L. & Ungaro D., 1998). In questi termini si parla di società come macrosistema, ponendo in secondo piano la potenzialità ermeneutica degli individui che la compongono e la ridefiniscono costantemente. Da parte nostra vorremmo proporre un’analisi del fenomeno disastroso attraverso uno sguardo né troppo micro e nemmeno troppo macro, che si barcameni tra interpretazione soggettiva del disastro ed oggettività in termine di danni. Come giustamente suggerito dalla proposta per questo panel, parlare di disastro, dal punto di vista delle scienze sociali, deve tenere in considerazione non solo l’evento funesto che colpisce una comunità insediata --□ e aggiungerei, la sua rielaborazione culturale --□ ma anche l’ambiente sociale, politico ed economico più esteso in cui esso è percepito e gestito. In quest’ottica appare rilevante un’analisi la più olistica possibile della vulnerabilità locale messa in luce da un disastro. L’esemplare di disastro che ci appresteremo ad analizzare è il terremoto. Come vedremo nel corso della presentazione, sarà messa in discussione l’associazione diretta terremoto = disastro (naturale o tecnologico che sia, riteniamo irrilevante questa distinzione poiché ci riporta ad una dicotomia da tempo messa in discussione dalla ricerca antropologica: si veda Ingold T., 2000 e Descola P., 2005). Vorremmo, infatti, descrivere il terremoto non solo come un evento disastroso in se’, inteso comunemente come un punto di rottura improvviso e radicale, rispetto a precondizioni considerate ‘normali’, e non solamente come il culmine di scelte socioambientali che hanno portato all’accumulo di vulnerabilità sistemica (Pellizzoni, L. & Ungaro, D., 1998) e alla diminuzione di resilienza locale (Holling C. S., 1973), ma piuttosto come una fase incisiva in un processo di ‘vulnerabilizzazione’ preesistente e persistente (Marcorè E., 2005). Si presupporrà pertanto l’esistenza di vulnerabilità socioculturali che sottendono il rischio di squilibri potenzialmente ingestibili da parte della comunità considerata. Il terremoto, come fattore di rischio al pari di altri, possiede, a differenza di altri fenomeni socioambientali, la capacità di attivare repentinamente questi squilibri, favorendo differenti tipi di cambio sociale senza determinarne però la direzione. Il caso di studio che qui di seguito proporremo riguarda la comunità di Nocera Umbra, nell’entroterra montano dell’Umbria colpito dal sisma del 1997. La ricerca etnografica è stata realizzata nell’anno 2003 durante il periodo della ricostruzione. I dati raccolti sono stati pubblicati nella Tesi di laurea “*Abitare a Nocera Umbra dopo il terremoto del 1997*” depositata presso la Sapienza di Roma nel 2005. Questo paper vuole suggerire di riconsiderare le conclusioni di ricerca avanzate all’epoca, alla luce della situazione attuale di Nocera Umbra, secondo una prospettiva diacronica. Nel far ciò, si vuole dimostrare che il disastro rappresenta un processo di cambio sociale che ha un passato e un futuro rispetto all’evento sismico, e le cui direzioni pre--□ e post--□sismiche sono influenzate da fattori sociali, politici, storici ed economici di portata non strettamente sincronica e non solamente locale (Marcorè E., 2005). All’epoca del lavoro di campo, ovvero a sei anni dall’evento sismico, ci eravamo concentrati sull’analisi della ricostruzione del centro storico cercando di rintracciare i motivi della sua estrema lentezza. Dopo il terremoto molte persone del ‘borgo’ avevano reperito un’autonoma sistemazione, alcune erano partite in altri centri cittadini e la maggior parte era stata ricollocata in case di edilizia residenziale pubblica (E.R.P). Prima del sisma il centro di Nocera era

abitato da pochi nuclei familiari, un'ottantina circa, costituiti da proprietari di casa e affittuari. La maggior parte della popolazione residente era rappresentata da persone anziane, spesso isolate, con scarsa presenza di giovani coppie che, laddove esistenti, erano costituite soprattutto da immigrati. Lo scenario demografico sul quale si è abbattuto il terremoto del 1997 era pertanto di evidente spopolamento. Alla fine del lavoro di Tesi si constatava l'eventualità della perdita del centro storico per Nocera: *“La possibilità che Nocera torni a vivere come riproposizione di una “mente locale” (La Cecla F., 2004) non è dunque per i suoi abitanti un discorso nostalgico ma concreto. Dipende dalla capacità degli attori sociali di saper mantenere in vita attraverso il vicinato e il proprio ambiente quelle peculiarità che facevano del borgo la “struttura di sentimento” (Appadurai A., 2001) di Nocera Umbra e non di altri luoghi. Dall'analisi sopra proposta questo compito sembra di lontana applicazione per i cittadini reinsediati in altro ambito ma, per lo meno, l'immagine è ancora viva.” (Marcore E., 2005 : 227).* Che cosa succede oggi, a dieci anni dalla ricerca etnografica? La ‘mente locale’ di cui si parlava sopra è ancora viva? Quali direzioni ha preso la ricostruzione del centro storico? E soprattutto, quali fenomeni di piccola e larga scala l'hanno influenzata nel corso degli anni? L'intento di questo paper è di suggerire che per il borgo antico, all'epoca della ricerca, il terremoto ancora non rappresentava quel disastro che è poi diventato. A causa di una politica dell'abitare “deteritorializzante” (Deleuze G., & Guattari F., 1987) - come vedremo in dettaglio nel corso dell'esposizione – la ricostruzione si è trasformata nel vero disastro per il borgo di Nocera Umbra. L'analisi olistica di questo fenomeno, disastroso nella sua lentezza, potrebbe servire da precedente etnografico per comparare le dinamiche di ricostruzione del centro storico di Nocera con quelle di un altro centro storico, divenuto tragicamente famoso dal 2009, la città dell'Aquila.

Disaster and social re-organization of daily life. An ethnographic participative research in the aftermath of L'Aquila earthquake

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In this proposal an ethnographic case study taken on in the aftermath of L'Aquila (Abruzzo, Italy) earthquake is addressed.

The contribution is divided into two different parts. In the first one some theoretical highlights are discussed showing a tight relation to the specific case. In particular, some meaningful sociological categories are analysed. The considerations focus on the concept of disaster as a dimension, which highlights a growing complexity as we move from the natural and material effects to the social ones. Thus, the territorial dynamics related to the catastrophic event of the earthquake are interpreted according to the concepts of vulnerability, daily-life organization and social fragmentation. A framework stands out in which both the already existing socio-economic fragility and the dispersion of an urban model caused by the disaster are configured as some of the causes related to the slowness of the material reconstruction process as well as in the social re-organization of daily life. The sudden event of the earthquake, along with the loss of a urban dimension, has brought to a sort of a whole comprehensive black out in common routines that eventually has caused a difficult “stand-by” in the re-composition of the social tissue.

The second part of the contribution concerns the empirical phase of the research, which has to be considered as a social investigation that eventually turns into the implementation of development projects within a community. It has been conducted within one of 19 new areas that have been built soon after the earthquake in the periphery of the city. One of the main highlights is related to the “new difficulties” people have to face in terms of reorganization of their time as inhabitants of a different area of the territory.

The ethnographic investigation has been conducted on the basis of the action research methodology and can be considered as a case of participative ethnography. Thus, it has assumed the character of a territorial animation particularly focused on the community engagement. The survey has moved on

two different levels of observation and analysis: (1) a cognitive objective focused on the needs emerging in the communities of L'Aquila residents in the aftermath of the earthquake (with reference to the specific living environment of the CASE project in Assergi), (2) a practical goal aiming at the activation of the collective potential in the reconstruction of the socio-relational framework. The mapping and the analysis of people's needs have constituted an experience of shared knowledge and at the same time have laid the foundations for the start of a process of proactive coping from the involved inhabitants.

Post disaster vulnerability processes: the post-earthquake case of L'Aquila
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The vast sociological literature concerning disasters aims to study the consequences deriving from the impact of a disaster inside a social system analyzing the dynamics and the processes that this triggers on an individual, community and institutional level. From the "classic" approach to disasters (Quarantelli, 1998) that intends to emphasize the dysfunctional aspects of the phenomenon and analyze the individual and collective responses in the short term (in particular for the first emergency phase), there is now a new line of studies that has recently come at its side and it puts in the center of its analysis the dynamics between the different actors involved and the territory both in the short and in the long term (Robbins, 2004). The social impact of a disaster, far from being the simple product of the appearance of a destructive event, has different effects on the population that is hit by it. The losses after its appearance are the reflection of social vulnerabilities that find their origin in the material, social, economic and political pre-existing differences (Cannon 1994; Maskev 1993; Winser et al. 2004). To understand and explain the factors that transform a natural disaster in a social catastrophe, it is necessary to take into consideration the social system in its whole (Hewitt, 1984). Although there is the same exposure to risk for different social groups that are different from each other, the consequences deriving from the impact of the destructive event lead back to the different capacity of the groups to face the impact (Cutter et al. 2003; Winser et al. 2004). Following this prospective, vulnerability has been defined as the set of characteristics of a person or of a group and their contest that influence the ability to anticipate, face, resist and reinstate the negative consequences deriving from the impact of the dangerous natural event (Wisner et al. 2004). In other words vulnerability is intended as the different inclination of social groups that aren't homogeneous between each other to incur in damage of physical, psychological and social nature. The impact of a disaster and its variation between different groups is generally explained through the use of explanatory variables of social and demographical nature- such as social status, occupation, gender, age, race, education- also relating to conditions of specificity- disability, condition of migrant (regular or irregular), nature and width of social networks. The concept of vulnerability presents itself as a precious explanatory instrument able to identify the groups of population most at risk not only in a physical and material point of view, but also in the capability to have access to the necessary resources able to minimize the possible negative effects of a disaster.

By placing itself inside such theoretical framework, this contribution focuses its attention on the post disaster vulnerability process that interests the population of L'Aquila, especially referring to the displaced that now live in the new residential complex C.A.S.E. (the so called New Town). This is the product of an empiric research developed in the autumn of 2012 with qualitative and ethnographic methods (participant observations; 22 in depth interviews). The criticalities that now interest the capital of Abruzzo, have to be framed in light of the deep urban changes that happened in the city after the earthquake that deeply changed its character and shape. As it has been known, the material damage caused by the earthquake has particularly interested the historical centre of the city (about 62,8% of the buildings has been declared unusable) that up to then had been able to maintain a role of primary importance at a functional level as well as at an identity level towards the population that lived there and the numerous neighbouring communities. As noted by Frisch

(2010), the shutdown of the historical centre and the delocalization process of the activities and services in all the municipal territory have given a strong drive to the processes of unregulated urban expansion that was already latent in them, letting the post-earthquake configure itself as a moment of break and strong discontinuity in the use of the territory and the planning of the urban and rural space. The acceleration of the processes of urban sprawl has therefore given rise to a proliferation of new mono- functional centralities (administrative, economic, commercial etc.) dispersed throughout the territory and distant between each other that have deprived the historical centre of its role of magnet and have redesigned its functions and its meanings. The centre, still substantially destroyed and inaccessible, seems to be reduced to a mere place of passage from one area of the city to another where the different points of interest are placed. At the same time, the meaning that this place takes today in the lives of the population seems to have bent to the seismic event itself. The centre of L'Aquila is no longer a place for meeting, socialising and exchanging but the place of remember, of memory of the individual and collective disaster that has involved the population. In increasing the process of urban dispersion, of the use of the territory and of the loss of centrality of the historical centre what also gave contribution was the construction of the 19 ex-novo settlements- Project C.A.S.E.- with which the government has decided to cope with the housing emergency that exploded after the earthquake. These new residential units of L'Aquila that now host about 14 thousand people have not been inserted in a coherent way in the urban and rural network that existed before, thus they have acquired an isolated and marginal character towards the new as well as the old centralities that were present in the territory. To the logic "settlement at a distance" that has accompanied the construction of the new settlements we add the total absence inside them of activities that are able to satisfy staple needs and places to meet, participate and socialize and where to reconstruct a satisfying socio-relational network. So the C.A.S.Es present themselves as new monofunctional centralities of a residential nature, isolated and distant between each other. The changes that took place at L'Aquila after the earthquake - shutdown of the historic centre; delocalization process; dispersion of the population throughout the territory- seem to have involved the population in a process of vulnerability that had never been experienced before. The new distances that separate the different points of interest dispersed in the territory seem to influence in a significant way the same ability of individuals to access and make use of basic services, to carry out aggregating, recreational and associative activities, to participate to public and political life and, more in general, to reconstruct the complex pre-earthquake relational network. This concerns issues that articulate and interest in different ways the population of the residents in the C.A.S.E. according not only to the individual socio-demographic characteristics but also to the different housing position that they previously occupied and that used to ensure they could avoid the dangers of exclusion and socio-spatial marginalisation. Therefore the objective of this contribution is to highlight first of all the urban changes that have interested the city of L'Aquila after the earthquake and how these have given birth to new monofunctional centralities. Second of all, it wants to bring to light the risks of marginalization and isolation of specific categories of the population in the short and in the long term. The management of the post-earthquake of L'Aquila, in fact, seems to have generated an amplification and a chain of a vast range of old and new vulnerabilities from which emerges the necessity to put more attention to the urban, territorial and socio-relational aspects in the processes of reconstruction that follow the occurrence of a disaster.

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The post-quake in L'Aquila: how face the reconstruction?

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My proposal is derived from field research in L' Aquila. On the 6th of April, a seism of magnitude 5.9 on the Richter scale produced the death of 309 persons, more than 1.500 injured and around 67.000 evacuees.

The objective of the research, that has a multidisciplinary orientation, is to observe and record the perception of the population of L'Aquila during the phase of the reconstruction and its level of resilience, through fieldwork, in-depth interviews and questionnaires given to people that went back in their own houses, damaged by the seism.

On 6th April 2013, 48.000 persons went back in their houses. The top-down reconstruction model, with maximum centralization and deprivation of authority from the institutions, did not have achievement. It stands to reason that the reconstruction of buildings is not the main need, it is not the only one and it goes with the context, maybe with the previous lifestyle.

What is the most efficient model to satisfy the needs and the requirements of a community that has been damaged by a catastrophic event? What is the perception of the population during the phase of the reconstruction? What does the resilience of a community depend on?

These are some of the questions this study tries to answer to, starting from the specific situation of L'Aquila city, injured by an earthquake in 2009, and bringing the innovation of the multidisciplinary approach, where the aspects connected to memory and depositions have been linked to the themes of seismic risk and vulnerability of the existing building heritage.

It is generally considered that the disaster or the catastrophe are a phenomenon linked basically to nature's whim or a consequence of human intervention on nature.

In both the cases, it is faced through an emergency perceptive that rarely leaves space also to an interpretation of social systems' operation. We began to look at these events with different eyes just recently. The common vision is that a natural event is perceived as a disaster depending on the range of damages or the number of victims. However, it is not always just the number of the victims that defines the events as a disaster or a catastrophe. Since the first studies about disasters, the prospective in which they were inserted was the emergency one, a perceptive of the "after": to intervene for containing the consequences and fixing the damages.

There is a comparison of the strongest earthquakes in Italy in order to understand where the situation has been improved, from Belice, Friuli, Irpinia-Basilicata in the 1980.

Ethnography lasted from March to July 2013. The research, though investigating socio-anthropological aspects, used also the technical knowledge, the engineering knowledge and the legislative knowledge, that are essential in a post-earthquake.

We realized 53 interviews in-depth among citizens of L'Aquila who had the permission to go back into their own rebuilt houses; the age range is wide, from. 20 to more than 80 years old. In the choice of the cross-selection, we preferred to choose the range of citizens whose houses had been classified as B and E (according to the level of damage).

For the interview, we used audio-visual instruments, with 150 hours of audio recording and 20 hours of video recording, where the interviewed allowed it.

This one is a new approach to these themes, so the objectives and the methodology have been reformulated during the research, because it was necessary to integrate the specific methodologies of social sciences with methodologies and themes of engineering sciences, with the aim to reach a united analysis and vision of the event and the data.

Has been studied the process of a evacuee to understand in the end what is the best reconstruction in a post-disaster; an evacuee has been gone through these steps: 1. Campsites-hotels-autonomous accommodations 2. Progetto C.A.S.E (Anti-earthquake Sustainable and Ecological Housing Scheme) - map- autonomous accommodations, 3. Return into their own housing.

People have an housing but they have not their previous life. Nothing is like it used to be before, and when people go back home, the house so strongly desired is not enough anymore. So, what people want?

Distortion of the world and re-generation: the earthquake of May 2012 in Emilia
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This will be a contribution to the analysis of the socio-cultural responses to the earthquake that hit the area north of the Po Valley, in Emilia (Italy) on the 20 and 29 of May, 2012. The exact area of research is located in the cities of Mirandola, Cavezzo, Concordia sul Secchia and San Possidonio, all of them situated in the Modena district. The subject of the survey is *Sisma.12*, a committee founded by some earthquake victims, "not-partisan and ideologically cross" claiming for specific rights. Also offering solutions to such a disaster, starting from the individual experience of its members, though different but participated, as alternative to the choices made by the institutions.

First of all, earthquake means destruction and disorder. According to anthropological theory about the disasters, it causes also a pending of social balance that forces those involved in cultural condition to make an effort to re-organize effectively the environment in which they live, adapting the latter to an idea collectively shared (Sorokin, 1942 Douglas, 2003). In such contexts the different devices of existence interpretation seem to have no more explanatory power. The culture must make a deep and accurate reconstruction of both collectivity and individuality to allow life again (Rosaldo, 2001).

In modern language the word *catastrophe* indicates a destructive event, which produces social disorders, referring to the concept of crisis. Of Greek origin (Katastrophé), the word has an original meaning of upheaval; the tragedy is denouement, turning point and epilogue, even positive (Barbieri, 2009). The disaster and the consequent crisis that arises from the disaster itself should be considered as unique, a simultaneously happening, and, as recognized by Kleist (2004), both natural and social events cannot be separated in the analysis.

According to the research, I would like to demonstrate herewith, how the destructive aspect of a disaster, in certain contexts, might add up a creative force that generates a new order (out of disorder), the awakening of energy, probably before dormant: strengthening them, it amplifies the creative and generative power of culture (Prince, 1920; Barbieri, 2009). The disaster has also the ability to produce a discontinuity into the order of socio - affective and geo -political forces. Schmitt speaks of an "ineradicable need of legitimation of every human being, "which re-emerges with urgency in all traumatic circumstances, taking public forms, both spatial and political (1992). The generative character of disasters, after the event has occurred, lies in the creation of common and participated spaces that circumscribes the being of a community by giving free rein to the awakened energies

In the analysis, *Sisma.12* is considered just as a place, within which the earthquake some victims have rebuilt their identity, creating a group in which they recognize themselves as a community. They were also able to process in a self-determined way alternative solution to the earthquake, building also a path to claim these that are fundamental rights, such as home and work. Specifically, the struggle has been undertaken by some earthquake victims, members of *Sisma.12*, bearers of principles and experience typical of a left-wing ideology. These subjects express the urgency of the community, to raise awareness and participation of these that were involved, not only in the earthquake, but also in the crisis that is raging both locally and globally. They denounce rampant individualism unable to resolve critical situations such as the aftermath of a disaster. Making the earthquake a collective experience seems to be the only way to help people to metabolize it, also to make a sense out these experience.

At the time when its needed to restore a universe of meaning in the "messy" places of disasters, there is a need to live and feel the experience in a collective manner (Beneduce , 2010). This process develops mainly through sharing: it gives new forms of solidarity and generates new subjectivities such as groups , associations and committees.

At the same time, the catastrophe causes a real crisis of meaning (De Martino, 1984), during which the everyday world seems to collapse: it is pervaded by a deep sense of unease and uncertainty, that find different way of expression. They are really traumatic moments because the disaster destroys everything that is familiar: houses , objects , environment, cities, space. It destroys everything that

is known, we lived and experienced in a previous stage of our lives. Everything that, because part of our daily lives, was given for granted. Its failure seems to emphasize its importance. Above all, the house has always been a vital place for everything that is human, there since it has its own peculiarities and meanings, in such moments it reaffirm its importance and special significance. Part of our being belongs to the place in which we find the elements that we recognize as indicators of our identity, in which we trace the references of everyday life, though through mechanisms that appear to be unconscious and unaware. From the evidence collected, the earthquake appears to have created a lack, removing violently what was previously owned, by resurfacing the cultural value of the house, not just home, but a creative place of identity and community.

The disaster permits the taking of consciousness, mobilizing personal needs and collective energies. It generates a change, giving way to self-recreational mechanisms, drawing from these new generative forces. Out of the condition of devastation and disaster that causes discomfort, it is possible to get the determination to conceive and practice new choices and alternative strategies, though independently from each one of individuals involved

Therefore it is necessary to reflect on the socio-cultural components of a disaster, on the political forces of the subjects and on the patterns of behavior in both the local cultural configuration and the production of the official discourse, and make evident the multiplicity of social discourses (Ciccaglione, 2013). It is urgent to think critically of the essential relationship between the parties, companies, institutions, political power and technical knowledge between scientific and local knowledge, investigating whether and how a community entrusts the public authorities to their own choices (Clemente, in Ciccozzi, 2013) or rather decides to resolve the situation accordingly to their own involvement in this process.

In conclusion, the earthquake in Emilia added to a pre-existing crisis, has exacerbated the discontent, highlighting shortcomings and negligence of the State in the management of not only the post-disaster, but the general economic crisis. However, it has made possible the awakening of the socio-political consciousness of citizens involved and the need of community of the subjects. *Sisma.12* was founded to be a tool to make all this possible.

Irpinia e Basilicata 1980: ricostruzione e scandali, memorie e rimozioni

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La storia italiana recente è costellata di eventi disastrosi, di varia natura, e di successive ricostruzioni dagli esiti più o meno positivi. Nel solo XX secolo si possono citare terremoti, alluvioni, frane e incidenti industriali, aerei e ferroviari che hanno causato un numero di morti spaventosamente alto.

Ogni evento disastroso accaduto in Italia nel XX secolo ha seguito una storia a sé, in gran parte dipendente dalle decisioni del governo in carica al momento del sisma o del disastro, dalle caratteristiche regionali dell'area colpita e da interessi trasversali.

Anche l'intervento in emergenza, i soccorsi immediati e la sistemazione provvisoria dei senzatetto hanno seguito logiche differenti, con un positivo protagonismo delle forze del volontariato e della partecipazione collettiva in termini di donazioni e vicinanza di tutto il popolo italiano.

La riflessione che qui si propone scaturisce da un percorso di ricerca storico-sociale sul terremoto che il 23 novembre 1980 interessò vaste aree di Campania e Basilicata, meglio conosciuto come terremoto dell'Irpinia. Questo evento innescò da un lato un'accelerazione decisiva per la nascita della Protezione Civile e di un sistema organizzato di responsabilità e soccorsi in emergenza; dall'altro lato la gestione politica e istituzionale delle ricostruzioni fu caratterizzata da ingenti finanziamenti pubblici su un'area ben più larga del semplice cratere sismico, con interventi sovradimensionati e notevoli sprechi di denaro pubblico.

Scendendo più nel tessuto comunitario e prendendo in considerazione la reazione individuale e collettiva dei terremotati, invece, si possono individuare reazioni, percorsi emotivi e pubblici comuni a più casi di comunità colpite da disastri. La ciclicità e la potenza con la quale i terremoti

hanno interessato il Mezzogiorno d'Italia hanno indotto gli storici a introdurre questo fenomeno tra i fattori di cambiamento e di trasformazione della società meridionale, al pari di sommosse sociali, di guerre e di lotte dinastiche; Francesco Saverio Nitti nel 1919 affermava che “i terremoti, la distruzione dei boschi e l'emigrazione sono state le tre cause modificatrici della storia recente di Basilicata e Calabria”.

Secondo altri studiosi, i terremoti hanno rappresentato momenti di sovversione, riconducendo tutti, ricchi e poveri, alla stessa situazione e favorendo in questo chi aveva di meno. Ulteriore interesse ha l'analisi del modo in cui una comunità si riorganizza; “la radicalità della distruzione riporta per un momento il rapporto fra gli uomini e la natura ai suoi primordi elementari, mette a nudo tutte le magagne e la fragilità della società colpita, e induce più facilmente ad andare alla radice di un nuovo e più equilibrato progetto di riorganizzazione sociale” (P. Bevilacqua, 1981). E' questo il caso del terremoto calabrese del 1783, illustrato in modo esemplare da Augusto Placanica nel libro “Il filosofo e la catastrofe” (Einaudi, 1985), che aveva dato l'occasione per il mutamento dell'assetto sociale attraverso la confisca da parte di Ferdinando IV dei beni ecclesiastici e il loro utilizzo per la ricostruzione, la redistribuzione della proprietà terriera. Il terremoto di Messina del 1908 ha invece rappresentato un importante stimolo per ravvivare il dibattito sull'intervento pubblico nel Mezzogiorno e, il terremoto del 1980 è stata l'occasione per modificare, in modo irreversibile lo stesso intervento, segnando il declino della Cassa per il Mezzogiorno.

Chi si occupa di scienze sociali nel senso più ampio del termine, quindi, dopo un fenomeno che ha proprio come sua caratteristica principale la creazione di uno spartiacque temporale netto tra un prima e un dopo, cercherà di indagare quali sono le continuità e le rotture che interessano la vita delle comunità, il loro rapporto con le istituzioni e la società del periodo, il destino che chi immagina e progetta la ricostruzione si sceglie. Se ne suggeriscono alcuni relativi al terremoto del 1980.

Tra i temi oggetto di analisi si considererà la prima emergenza, quando nei paesi irpini e lucani terremotati si mise in moto un processo di partecipazione e autorganizzazione, anche grazie ai molti volontari, che aveva l'obiettivo di fare pressione sulla classe politica locale e nazionale affinché desse risposte di largo respiro sui temi del lavoro, dell'isolamento e della ricostruzione di queste zone interne dell'Appennino Meridionale.

Altro tema, tangibile e significativo, riguarda la ricostruzione urbanistica. Nel caso irpino e lucano, la prima conseguenza della ricostruzione fu un aumento esponenziale del patrimonio abitativo; le maglie larghe della legislazione e la volontà degli amministratori di cogliere l'occasione per adeguare e far crescere le abitazioni e anche di sfruttare il momento per creare occupazione nell'edilizia, creò in quasi tutti i paesi terremotati un sovradimensionamento delle reali esigenze. Anche la fisionomia dei centri abitati cambiò, spesso radicalmente e irreversibilmente.

Il terzo aspetto per parlare di cambiamento e continuità in relazione al terremoto del 1980 riguarda il dibattito sulla rinascita delle aree terremotate. Per questo il progetto di costruzione di 20 aree industriali disseminate nelle province di Avellino, Salerno e Potenza, sembrò rispondere alle attese delle popolazioni terremotate. Il progetto era quello di avviare l'attività di 255 aziende e di creare circa 14mila posti di lavoro. In realtà il progetto industriale si è rivelato alquanto incerto, con molte ombre e poche luci, tanto che oggi in quelle 20 aree industriali le aziende aperte sono circa la metà di quelle previste.

Se parliamo di memoria e del modo in cui le comunità rievocano l'evento e il periodo della ricostruzione si ha la sensazione che chi ha subito più direttamente le conseguenze di quel terremoto, chi ha pianto i propri morti, chi si è visto portare via i riferimenti fisici - i paesi e le persone - preferisce oggi la dimensione privata e soggettiva del ricordo alle rievocazioni pubbliche e altisonanti. Sicuramente il fatto che quel terremoto sia ricordato più come scandalo e spreco che per gli effetti distruttivi e per i morti, porta le persone a non voler discutere in modo pubblico sulla ricostruzione. La narrazione di quei terribili novanta secondi e di quello che è venuto immediatamente dopo è un passaggio inevitabile per comprendere a pieno i meccanismi di rielaborazione del trauma, a livello comunitario e individuale.

Dentro il cratere. Il terremoto del 1980 nella memoria degli amministratori locali.

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Il 23 novembre 1980 un violento sisma colpì una vasta area dell'Italia meridionale, compresa tra la Campania, le Basilicata e la Puglia. Fu una catastrofe: circa 3000 morti, interi paesi rasi al suolo, migliaia di senzatetto. La rappresentazione diffusa di questa catastrofe restituisce un quadro in cui primeggiano elementi negativi: da un lato l'impotenza, la sconfitta, la disorganizzazione che segnano i primi giorni dopo il sisma, nonostante il prezioso impegno di volontari e soccorritori; dall'altro l'incapacità amministrativa, il controllo politico del territorio, gli scandali della ricostruzione nella interminabile fase della ricostruzione. Su questa rappresentazione “totale” si fonda, sostanzialmente, la *memoria storica* del sisma dell'80.

Questo contributo presenta i principali risultati di una ricerca nell'area cosiddetta *del cratere* del terremoto del 23 novembre del 1980, rappresentata da comuni compresi tra le province campane di Avellino e Salerno e quella lucana di Potenza. La ricerca si è posta l'obiettivo di ricostruire, attraverso l'esplorazione dei luoghi e la memoria dei sindaci allora in carica, gli avvenimenti e le dinamiche che presero corpo nella fase più drammatica di quell'evento, che va dalle prime ore dopo il sisma fino ai primi mesi del 1981. In questa fase, l'emergenza dirompente assegna ai sindaci autonomia, potere e responsabilità istituzionali mai sperimentate prima. Espressione di una memoria allo stesso tempo soggettiva, collettiva e istituzionale, questi sindaci rappresentano una fonte preziosa – non indagata – per sondare la resilienza dei contesti locali in situazioni di crisi. Inoltre, consente di ricostruire le dinamiche sociali e politiche che hanno gettato le basi dei nuovi, spesso controversi, assetti territoriali e sociali dei comuni del cratere. L'applicazione dell'approccio analitico di rete in prospettiva longitudinale ha consentito, in particolare, di individuare le dinamiche che, nel tempo, complessificano le reti con evidenti ricadute sulla loro capacità di resilienza.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF MULTICULTURAL PRACTICES

Convenor: Enzo Colombo, Università Statale di Milano, enzo.colombo@unimi.it

ETHNOGRAPHY OF MULTICULTURAL PRACTICES I

Thursday 5th 16.00-19.00 – Room 5 SA

Alte Ceccato bidesh. Re-interpreted geographies, gender spaces and everyday multiculturalism in a Italian Northeast “Banglatown”

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This paper is part of a broader research aimed to analyze the masculinity transformations and the gender construction process of Bangladeshi immigrant in Italy (Della Puppa, 2014a, 2014b).

Here, specifically, I will analyze the process of *re-functionalization*, *transformation* and *re-signification* of public spaces of an urban context characterised by high concentration of immigrant families.

The case study considered is that of Alte Ceccato – town of the Municipality of Montebelluna Maggiore, in the Province of Treviso – and its large Bangladeshi community. In Alte, immigrant residents account for about a third of its 6,804 inhabitants, more than 50% of which is native from Bangladesh (Della Puppa and Gelati, 2010; 2011; 2012; forthcoming).

The rooting of the “new inhabitant” of Alte has led to a new use of its urban spaces, the attribution of new meanings and the emerging of a “primary dimension”, a “street and neighborhood” one (La Cecla 1998; 1999), once upon a time lost, but now perceptible to the lively streets of the town.

This new way of living spaces finds its highest expression in the main square, the central Piazza San Paolo, the true focus of the Bangladeshi community social life (Della Puppa and Gelati, 2010; 2011; 2012; forthcoming).

The square is divided into two spaces by a massive screen of bricks: one, open, is a lively and colorful churchyard; the other, more discreet and secluded, a comfortable lawn complete with benches and a playground for children. This partition has been adapted (to blend in with the architectural structure) from Bangladeshi families and made compatible with the construction of the symbolic and material separation /differentiation of gender practices and representations.

The wall, in which there are large openings that allow the physical transition and the visual intrusion, separates and, at the same time, combining two places, serving as urban and material *purdah* between the public and political space (where the male component aggregate and show themselves to the community) and the more secluded and familiar, connected with care and nurturance (where women accompany their children to play).

The constructions of gender norms enacted, reproduced and negotiated by the diasporic community engage, therefore, on patriarchal practices implicitly inscribed in the organization of urban public spaces and their uses (care on the one hand, leisure and sociability on the other hand) made by the architectural planning of local institutions.

The “reconciliation” and “harmonization” of the patriarchal order and their mutual convergence with respect to the gender hierarchies stratify, along national and gender categories, the possibilities to experience the space in the town and, with them, the citizenship paths.

Moving away from the central areas towards residential areas inhabited exclusively by people of native origin, is possible to arrive at the only one green area of the town: the Don Milani Park, renamed by the Bangladeshi component “Burka Park” because assiduously frequented by “veiled” mothers that accompany their children to play.

This fenced and small park is an intimate and secluded place, away from the male gaze; a space that is opposed to the visibility and the public nature (and thus potentially “inconvenient”) of the central

square, despite the “re-purposeful” adaptation of gender uses” already described.

The “veiled” park is the only space enjoyed by the Bangladeshi population in this part of the town. It is precisely because of its isolation from the rest of the community and from the male component more “visible” (all concentrated in the square and in the adjacent streets) that the park becomes a “permitted”, in which is possible also the attendance of immigrants wives that use to pay more attention to the separation between sexes and a strict *purdah* observance.

In the case of the square, the separation of immigrant women is reproduced by their unreasoning symbolic alliance between “native” and “Bangladeshi” patriarchy materialized in its architectural structure. An alliance that – precisely because unconscious (Bourdieu, 1998) – acts on the Bangladeshi women and is reinforced by distrust of the native people to the place identified as “the square of the foreigners”. Immigrant men and women, however, recognize the informal hierarchy of citizenships and the Bangladeshi hegemony on the square that makes people of African origin, especially women, do not feel entitled to transit through this place. Emerge, therefore, multisituate forms of citizenship that are revealed through the perception or the denial of the right to appropriate of the urban space in the everyday-life (Fenster 2005 Ong, 2005).

Regarding the “Burka Park”, instead, both the construction of the asymmetric order between genders that unites the Bangladeshi community and the autochthonous society, as the informal hierarchies along “ethnic” and cultural-linguistic lines, are subverted by a new alliance between the green space female playgoers. Despite the nickname, which tends to uniquely connote the park, within the park itself are acted forms of “everyday multiculturalism” (Colombo and Seeds, 2007) and “gender proximity” (Bimbi 2009) no discernible in no other places of Alte. Plowing the road of stones in the park, in fact, there are women of different nationalities, intent to supervise children playing together, chatting with each other.

Burqa Park is only one of several elements of a parallel urban toponymy upgrading the spaces of the town and their practical uses. This urban toponymy transforms the meanings, changing the signifiers. The different components of the Bangladeshi community, in fact, daily participate together to the Alte places renaming, contributing to the construction of a intra-communitarian lexicon used to talk about the community itself and, at the same time, about the environment.

Then, in addition to the new signifiers attributed to “Parco Don Milani”, “Condominio Monte Berico” becomes the “White House”, the two buildings in front of that become the “Twin Towers”, a third one is the “Red House”, on the other side stands the “Yellow House” and the “Bottle Building”, each one protagonist of specific sense attributes and practical use for the diasporic community.

Thus, it takes shape an attempt to re-appropriation of the settlement context, a strategy of rehabilitation of it; a way to fit it with the life needs and to “decorate” with the words the everyday context, renaming it in a new way, to form an “habitat of meaning” (Hannerz, 1996) and to feel a little more “at home” (Bimbi, 2014).

Multiculturalism “at work” in institutional contexts. Ethnographies of Second-Generation Citizens in a northern Italian City

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The considerable ongoing academic, social, and political debate about the children of immigrants claiming for citizenship (Kasinitz et al. 2008) – the so called second/third generations – cannot be solely presented under the rhetoric of emergence and appears to be no longer postponed (Colombo, 2013). In particular, recent discussions have questioned multiculturalism as an approach to diversity management (Herbert et al., 2006). At the Italian level, these debates have tended to focus on meanings and symbolic aspects of citizenship and belonging among young second generation migrants (Colombo et al. 2009; Colombo e Rebughini 2012). Rather, less attention has been paid to their forms of active participation, especially in institutional contexts. However, as Vertovec (2007a, 2007b) has noted in Britain, it is crucial to question the implications of such experiences and the

“banal” tactics and symbolic actions (Melucci 1996:185) put into practice on a daily basis, as they might redefine the political meaning of multiculturalism itself.

Drawing on one year of ethnographic research, documentary evidence and in-depth interviews, this paper discusses how a pilot project aimed at the development of pathways of citizenship for young migrants¹ was co-planned and co-managed by a local government of northern Italy in partnership with second generation associations, and the implications of this policy for current debates around multiculturalism and diversity management at the city scale.

To be more specific, the author has conducted institutional ethnography in her workplace, playing the delicate role of co-performer, being at the same time member of the project team and participant observer. Therefore, it can be justified in this sense to speak of ethnographies instead of ethnography (Opas 2004:156). These ethnographies were characterized by an interaction between the researcher and the actors involved to gather the people’s own words and perceptions of how they understand, account for and act within the phenomenon under study, influencing - of course - the same writing process. For all these reasons, the title of the paper somehow plays with the double meaning of putting both multiculturalism and the ethnographer “at work” in institutional contexts.

In particular, this study examines the project team’s experiences in a public office, pointing out the persistent claims for rights and recognition, the production of symbolic boundaries, the affirmative actions produced by second generation activists, and the political responses that local council members made to this. In fact, if on the one hand second generation representatives express associative/ethnic pride and identifications when contesting such strategies:

“There is the need to remark the G2’s contribute, so we can give back our identity!” (« Field note », May 28, 2013)

On the other hand, it is crucial to problematize the way in which these “situations” of active participation while searching for “justness as justice” (Colombo and Rebughini 2012:168), seem also clamoring for the establishment of a new form of citizenship: the urban citizenship (Donzelot 2011, Smith and McQuarrie 2012).

“First and foremost citizenship is a prerequisite for living equal opportunities as established by law or practiced “de facto”. Citizenship as multiple belonging, to one or more national and transnational communities. Young people live within city (metropolis) borders... Urban-borders indeed; there (within such urbanity) they found their points of reference: family, school, work and institutions. Urban Citizenship belongs to everybody though: to everyone who comes and chooses to live in our city. It is free from the concept of national citizenship (impossible to somebody) or global citizenship (a dream for many). The thought flies toward a more participatory citizenship, which will spread from city to city, then to the country.” (« Field note », March 7, 2013)

Specifically, it is argued that rather than abandoning multiculturalism as a policy, the need is to engage with the governmental strategies - that regulate second generation migrants’ rights and obligations as non-citizens or citizens - towards a more participatory (local) urban citizenship, able to channel their claims into the political arena.

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Expanding citizenship. Inter-generational solidarity and double engagement within senegalese transnational migration

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Through the biographical lens of a woman that we will call B. and her involvement into associational activities, the paper discusses the attempts to make our understanding of civic engagement and citizenship in practice wider than its territorial and normative boundaries. Contrary to the academic discussions contrasting assimilation and transnationalism, the active participation and double engagement of B. appears to be pursued while simultaneously addressing the highly contested issue of citizenship. Indeed, although her association's public goals remain the fight against discrimination and the campaign to overcome the barriers posed to social mobility and full citizenship rights, these objectives are joined by a intent to preserve languages as well as the connections with the context of origin. As the story of B. suggests, more complex and articulated situations show how a serious engagement into enhancing the awareness of the realization of citizenship rights for the future of the children of Italian immigration and the commitment towards a cosmopolitan organizational form to pursue this purpose is compatible with an involvement with the context of origin and with a non-intuitive solidarity among different migration stages and generations.

Negotiating the semantics of shared urban spaces: Jews and Palestinians in Haifa

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Haifa, a mid-size Jewish-dominated city with a stable Palestinian minority, is habitually referred to in Israeli parlance as a 'mixed' city. Of the manifold "mixtures" of Israeli society, which as an immigrant society is diverse at once ethnically, linguistically, religiously, racially, *and* nationally, only the latter merits the title "mixed," communicating the message that cities with no visible Palestinian segments are homogeneous. Despite its common use, the term "mixed city" is regarded with ambivalence and criticized from left and right. On the ground, life in the city oscillates between explosive and routine, and people's attitudes towards those on the other side of the national divide tend to be contradictory. While they typically retain essentialist positions and mutual hostilities, many share daily activities, carry friendly encounters, cultivate mutual interests, and even maintain varying degrees of intimacy. Echoing this intricacy, city officials, activists, and intellectuals continuously search for appropriate frameworks to handle Jewish-Arab relations, and for a language that would better accommodate the gap between the lived and the perceived experiences of urban reality.

Semantic and institutional articulations of ethno-national differences in Haifa respond to pressures from below and above at one and the same time. Grassroots social-change activists push for a radical discourse that admits domination, discrimination, and exclusion, and calls to incorporate Palestinian symbols into the official face of the city. In the past few years, some of them also use the terms of "shared city" or "shared society", and the term "inter-cultural city" is also beginning to appear.

Municipal policies, on the other hand, aim to de-politicize difference by interspersing Palestinian symbols, reclassified as folklore, within the official representations, while aiming to minimize visual political protest. Ongoing negotiation of these polar positions towards "difference" is apparent in the city's daily life: in its administration, in the symbolic arrangements of public space, in terminologies used in official signposts, in renewal and development policies, in the city's public relations, and more. Our talk uses ethnographic data from diverse sites throughout the city – including official festivities, institutional routines, citizens' organizing, and spontaneous encounters

on the streets – to track the shifting articulations of ethno-national difference and outline the vernacular version of a shared urban space.

Can cultural pluralism have transnational dimensions? Migrants from Ukraine and Lebanon in Italy

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The present proposal is based on a research which had as its main argument the conception of citizenship of migrants and local factory workers in the province of Ferrara. The method used was that of in-depth biographical interviews, focused on the experience of rights and on the judgment on the equity of the present Italian citizenship law.

The aspect on which I wish to focus in my presentation are the results of part of the interviews – in particular those with migrants from Ukraine and Lebanon – in which I explored the relationship of the interviewees with the cultural pluralism that has recognition and/or institutional form in the countries of origin, and the possibility of making recourse to this pluralism to contest the norms of cultural homogeneity the migrants meet in Italy. Of the 60 interviews collected for the overall research, the data here presented come from 16 interviews with mostly first generation migrants (8 from Ukraine, 6 from Lebanon and 2 with activists, born respectively in Romania and Pakistan, of a pro-migrant association).

I consider the approach of the research as a critique of the prevalently quantitative researches on the “transferability” of cultural traits in migration. In the case of these researches culture is implicitly conceived in an essentialist way, as being “inside” the migrants; these researches explore the measure in which specific cultural traits – normatively presented as desirable or undesirable – are conserved in the country of immigration. In this presentation I wish on the other hand to use a conception of culture as fully social, “external” to the subjects, who, while not free in their use of the culture, can nevertheless find rhetorical and symbolic resources in it, which they can use in a contingent manner, without being strictly bound to them. This approach is partially inspired by the research of Glick Schiller and Fouron (2001), who have shown how migrants from Haiti in the United States made recourse to the existence of some social rights in the country of origin to put forward claims for the same rights towards the US government.

The question of my research was more specifically if the cultural pluralism acknowledged in the countries of origin could be a resource to contrast the norm, widespread in Italy, of cultural homogeneity, and in particular the idea that Italian citizenship could be conditional to the ability to pass linguistic and cultural tests, or, more radically, conditional to an Italianness of ancestry. Ukraine was characterized at the time of the research by a linguistic pluralism (described as a division between ukrainophones and russophones, although the situation is more nuanced and complex), which had no strong institutional recognition but was acknowledged in public discourse, in particular for what concerns the difference of political voting in the West and the East of the country. Lebanon is characterized on the other hand by a religious pluralism that has an institutional role in the political system (Parliament seats reserved to specific religions, an informal agreement on the distribution of the highest government positions between members of different religions).

The interviewees acknowledged the question as relevant for themselves, discussing it in most cases beyond my inquiries; however the actual references to cultural pluralism were variable. In the case of the interviewees born in Lebanon, the role of religious pluralism was strongly acknowledged, especially for what concerns the political system. Nevertheless, while some interviewees criticized the pressure to homologate linguistically and culturally, most interviewees put a discursive distance, either between them and Lebanon (and the relevance of religion in that context), or between Lebanon and the neighboring countries, describing the former as “Western”. In the case of the interviewees born in Ukraine, a strong national pride was present in the interviews, with some interviewees insisting in particular on Eastern Ukraine and others focusing on the whole country. Despite this, these interviews did not put forward claims for cultural pluralism in Italy; they were on

the contrary the only group that show limited interest in Italian citizenship. The latter aspect can be explained also by institutional factors (Ukraine is the only country, between those where my interviewees were born, that does not allow for dual citizenship) and by the social position of the interviewees in Italy, most of which were in co-resident care work and were not interested in settling in Italy.

The conflictual dimension of pluralism in Ukraine and Lebanon played certainly a role in making this rhetorical and symbolic resources less usable, especially (at the time of the interviews) for Lebanon. However, I consider the limited recourse to this question to be also linked to the discursive field present in Italy. Italian political debate seems to have consolidated in a field in which the alternatives are a more or less radicalized xenophobic discourse that considers full membership in the country to be bound to descending from Italians, and a discourse that insists, on the already reached congruence with majority culture (especially by the second generation), rather than questioning the norm of the reproduction of the dominant culture. Migrants in particular seem thus to meet two main discourses, with my interviewees opting usually for the one that is less characterized by narrowness, and without, except for a minority, advancing strongest claims. In my research as a whole the reference to integration as a requirement for citizenship had limited presence, but the occurrences of this argument were rather among some migrants rather than among the local factory workers, the latter insisting rather on a purely economic (work-based) idea of citizenship (Sredanovic forthcoming).

Therefore, even if cultural pluralism can have a transnational dimension, in the case here presented the actual symbolic and rhetoric force of pluralism came out as limited by a local discursive regime in which cultural pluralism had limited resonance.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF MULTICULTURAL PRACTICES II

Friday 6th 16.00-19.00 – Room 8 SA

Specchi: l'onore delle donne come pratica di definizione dei confini culturali tra le comunità di migranti indo-pakistani di Brescia e la società d'accoglienza

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Questo contributo riassume i risultati di una ricerca dottorale sull'onore delle donne, svolta nel bresciano tra il 2010 e il 2012 presso le comunità di migrazione indiana e pakistana. L'iniziale comparazione tra il gruppo pakistano e quello indiano ne sottende un'ulteriore tra le due comunità provenienti dal Subcontinente indiano e la cosiddetta società "di accoglienza" (quella bresciana/italiana). La ricerca si è basata sulle interviste effettuate a informatori di origine indiana e pakistana per la maggior parte ragazze tra i 16 a 20 anni, nate nella quasi totalità nel Subcontinente indiano e poi emigrate in Italia. Arrivate in Italia, molte di queste giovani sono state esposte, soprattutto tramite la scuola, al contatto diretto - e spesso più intenso dei loro genitori - con coetanei italiani. La miscela tra le educazioni impartite a casa e il contatto con la società italiana ha avuto diversi e non scontati effetti.

Il tema, come dimostra il clamore intorno al caso di Hina Saleem, una giovane donna pakistana assassinata dal padre a Sarezzo (BS) nel 2006, per aver apertamente violato i codici di comportamento sessuale del gruppo di riferimento, ha finito col generare un acceso dibattito non tanto sulle problematiche delle violenze di genere, ma focalizzato, piuttosto, sui temi dell'immigrazione e dell'integrazione, non diversamente da quanto avvenuto in altri paesi con una ben più lunga tradizione d'immigrazione come Europa settentrionale o il Nordamerica.

Le pratiche inerenti la conservazione dell'onore femminile sono molto simili nella comunità pakistana (prevalentemente musulmana) e in quella indiana (prevalente dedita al sikkhismo) e mirano alla preservazione della buona reputazione delle giovani donne, e di conseguenza delle loro famiglie, fattori necessari, questi, per combinare dei matrimoni convenienti e a garantire la

dignitosa permanenza delle famiglie nell'ambito delle comunità in cui sono inserite. Attraverso i matrimoni combinati nelle aree sopraccitate si perpetua il sistema di relazioni sociali ed economiche caratterizzato in modo particolare dalla solidarietà di casta e dal mantenimento di tali confini.

Per quanto la realtà indiana e pakistana non siano né monolitiche, né statiche, la correlazione tra il controllo e la regolazione della sessualità femminile attraverso il discorso dell'onore e la sua funzione di perpetuazione della struttura sociale permane stretta. Accanto a ciò, la retorica inerente l'onore si è progressivamente arricchita di una dimensione di autenticità culturale volta a segnare confini rivolti all'*Altro occidentale*.

La preservazione dell'onore femminile non accenna a diminuire nelle realtà di migrazione; anzi, accentua degli aspetti che nelle aree di origine sono meno evidenti. In particolare, la regolazione della sessualità soprattutto femminile, diventano una sorta di bandiera nazionale, confini che non vanno assolutamente travalicati, tanto più perché si è in terra straniera. Le donne sono quindi percepite come una sorta di confini mobili particolarmente vulnerabili e di conseguenza potenzialmente pericolosi per l'identità dell'intera comunità.

In modo quasi speculare, anche nelle società d'immigrazione le pratiche legate alla preservazione dell'onore dei migranti sono percepite come un indice di diversità dell'Altro e il pretesto per tracciare nuove linee di alterità, dimenticando che -come le tanto contestate, quanto prolifiche, etnografie del Mediterraneo evidenziavano- tratti simili di percepire l'onore femminile erano presenti anche nelle nostre società.

Sia sul versante della società d'accoglienza, sia da quello dei migranti provenienti dal Subcontinente indiano, il dibattito ha dunque assunto una piega prevalentemente "etnicista". L'argomento della preservazione dell'onore femminile da un lato e della "liberazione" delle donne dall'oppressione dei *loro* maschi dall'altro, vengono utilizzati per marcare reciproci confini identitari. In questo conflitto le donne migranti rischiano di ritrovarsi compresse tra posizioni che solo in apparenza sono opposte: quella di chi nella società d'approdo si propone come paladino della loro libertà veicolando in questo modo stereotipi e politiche ostili ai migranti, e chi, in nome della difesa della tradizione e dell'autenticità culturale brandita come arma contro l'assimilazione, nega ad esse l'esercizio dei fondamentali diritti umani.

Matrimoni misti a Napoli

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Oggetto del *paper* è il matrimonio misto (Peruzzi, 2008, De Luca, 2006, Fenaroli et al., 2006, Saraceno, 2007, Tognetti Bordogna, 1996) a Napoli; in particolare, quello la cui diversità si fonda su una doppia differenza: di credo religioso e di percezione esperienziale, dettata dalla presenza dell'evento migratorio per un membro della coppia.

Le storie delle coppie sono state ricostruite attraverso interviste semi-strutturate e ripetute ad entrambi i coniugi, mentre l'osservazione diretta ha consentito di mettere a fuoco le loro pratiche quotidiane: domestiche, lavorative, sociali, affettive e del tempo libero.

Privilegiando l'approccio analitico di rete (Degenne et al., 2004, Piselli, 2001; Scott, 1997, Wasserman et al., 1994), la ricerca ha approfondito le relazioni sociali di alcune coppie emblematiche, misurandone, in prospettiva diacronica, la condivisione/separazione relazionale, individuando i fattori che hanno influenzato la morfologia delle reti e le dinamiche di evoluzione/involuzione dei reticoli, sia sul piano dell'intimità che su quello dei rapporti con i contesti di provenienza e di arrivo.

Cimiteri islamici in Italia: una ricerca etnografica tra rituali e sfera pubblica
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Questo lavoro etnografico è frutto di una ricerca di due anni che ha toccato diverse città: Firenze, Rimini, Gioia del Colle, Torino e Udine. In queste e in altre città da Nord a Sud dell'Italia i rapporti tra persone di fede islamica, tessuto sociale, e Amministrazione Comunale hanno portato alla costituzione di aree di sepoltura islamica all'interno dei cimiteri comunali. In questo percorso ho potuto incontrare le comunità islamiche di diverse città, prime generazioni di musulmani e successive, assessori e amministratori comunali, imprenditori musulmani di pompe funebri, e tanti altri. Dalle sale di preghiera, alle sale dei Comuni, dalle aree dedicate alla sepoltura dei musulmani, al corteo funebre di un fedele di Allah, ho passato diverso tempo con le persone che cercano una soluzione condivisa e mediata che riguarda l'inclusione sociale.

Ovviamente non solo le città nominate in precedenza hanno deciso di dotarsi di questi spazi dedicati, tuttavia il fenomeno che riguarda la ritualità attorno alla morte e le conseguenti negoziazioni tra società e fedeli, sono temi che presentano una certa difficoltà di rilevazione. La morte nella società occidentale è un discorso che viene evitato, se non per la spettacolarizzazione che fa lievitare gli ascolti dei programmi televisivi che si occupano di delitti e omicidi. Pur avendo grande esposizione superficiale agli eventi luttuosi presentati dai media nazionali, si può notare come il tema della morte in sé, il suo significato, le sue accezioni culturali, vengano completamente ignorate e quasi bandite dal discorso pubblico, perlomeno dai dibattiti nazionali. Dunque le informazioni relative alle storie dei cimiteri islamici, una nicchia ancor più nascosta, possono essere reperite soltanto a livello locale. Lungo tutta la nostra penisola se ne traggono storie di scambi e crescita, ma anche di conflitto e contrapposizione politico-ideologica. Dall'analisi di alcune storie locali si possono meglio comprendere i mondi a confronto e le dimensioni che sottendono all'incontro-scontro anche dopo la vita.

In questo lavoro si pensa ai cimiteri islamici come luogo simbolico della memoria e come spazio fisico per dare adeguata sepoltura alla fine dell'esistenza dei credenti di fede musulmana. In tal senso lo studio che è stato condotto riguarda sia gli aspetti rituali del culto, sia quelli relativi al riconoscimento e alla legittimazione della diversità a livello concreto. Un luogo della memoria è un terreno su cui si piantano radici: perciò le vie rituali e i luoghi di sepoltura sono carichi di significati che riguardano la costruzione di un passato a beneficio sia dei defunti che dei vivi.

Nell'argomentazione verrà approfondito il concetto di morte nell'islam e le pratiche funebri ad esso connesse. *Janazah* è il termine islamico che sta a significare 'funerale', ma anche tutta l'attività funeraria dal momento della morte fino alla chiusura della tomba. Sono diversi i passaggi peculiari di questa ritualità funebre che connotano il giusto modo di trattare un musulmano e per predisporre nel giusto modo le sue spoglie mortali mentre la sua anima affronta il viaggio nell'aldilà.

La riflessione sullo "spazio urbano e simbolico relativo alla memoria" riguarda i processi di cittadinanza legati ai processi identitari e alle strategie di stanziamento, che presuppongono un certo livello inclusione. Ci si pone dunque il problema di come la cittadinanza culturale viene rappresentata sia dagli immigrati che dalla società di arrivo: da una parte si apre lo spazio di una domanda religiosamente e culturalmente connotata, dall'altra si configurano processi decisionali e politiche volte a soddisfare tale domanda con la messa in campo, o meno, di *facilities*.

Bisogna precisare che i cimiteri rappresentano una opportunità per i musulmani italiani che in molti casi, data l'assenza di aree cimiteriali islamiche, optano per il rimpatrio della salma, con ingenti spese economiche. Tutto ciò mina i progetti di stanziamento a discapito del clima sociale generale, imponendo la scelta tra rispetto rituale - dunque il rimpatrio del corpo -, e possibilità di tenere vicino a sé i propri cari in una zona cimiteriale non adatta. Da questo deriva un forte problema soprattutto per le seconde e terze generazioni di musulmani nati in Italia. Soprattutto per le prime generazioni rimane forte il richiamo del paese di origine e di una ritualità molto legata a tradizioni non mediate: ciò porta spesso, oltre che per una assenza di alternative in loco, a desiderare il rimpatrio dei propri resti mortali. Le generazioni successive si trovano di fronte a un problema di non semplice soluzione: rispettare la volontà del genitore e rimpatriare la salma, o cercare un'area

di sepoltura adeguata nel paese in cui hanno scelto di vivere (con tutte le problematiche connesse ai regolamenti di polizia mortuaria). Si può dunque notare che il tema delle aree di sepoltura musulmane presenta un doppio livello di analisi. Da una parte quello relativo all'azione politico-amministrativa in diretta relazione con le comunità islamiche in Italia. Dall'altra l'aspetto privato legato alle ultime volontà del defunto, e al problema dei discendenti di poter costruire un percorso di memoria identitaria che abbia radici nel paese in cui hanno deciso di vivere.

Vivere l'esperienza della migrazione completa tra Italia e Romania

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Il lavoro propone il tema della migrazione dei rumeni in Italia a partire dal 1990 e del loro ritorno in Romania dopo la crisi economica iniziata nel 2008. L'obiettivo della ricerca qui presentata è stato quello di conoscere quali sono i cambiamenti che l'esperienza della migrazione in Italia ha portato con sé, sia a livello individuale che collettivo. All'inizio del 2013 abbiamo condotto uno studio di caso nella comunità di Drăguș, provincia di Brașov - Romania, utilizzando la metodologia qualitativa basata sulle interviste narrative. La comunità rurale di Drăguș ha una ricca esperienza di migrazione in due flussi migratori importanti: la migrazione verso America nella prima parte del scorso secolo e la migrazione verso i paesi dell'Europa Occidentale (Italia, Spagna e Germania) negli anni novanta e duemila. Il lavoro è di tipo esplorativo e abbiamo utilizzato tre tecniche di ricerca qualitativa: l'intervista narrativa, l'intervista semistrutturata e l'osservazione partecipante. I dati forniti dalle interviste sono stati analizzati con la tecnica della codifica dei dati qualitativi. Alla fine abbiamo realizzato una *grounded theory* (Strauss e Corbin, 1990) su come i soggetti della nostra ricerca hanno vissuto l'esperienza della migrazione in tre fasi: 1) l'integrazione nella società italiana, 2) il pendolarismo tra l'Italia e la Romania per alcuni anni e 3) il ritorno e l'integrazione nella comunità di origine. Il concetto principale attraverso cui abbiamo letto i cambiamenti derivati dalla migrazione è stato quello del "modello culturale della migrazione" (Horvath, 2009). Abbiamo interpretato i dati della ricerca secondo questo modello teorico molto utile nel capire le recenti esperienze migratorie internazionali.

Il carcere multiculturale tra meccanismi di esclusione e strategie di adattamento

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Il contributo propone alcuni risultati di una più ampia indagine etnografica condotta presso gli Istituti Penitenziari di Poggioreale e Secondigliano sui detenuti stranieri. In particolare, ci si concentra sui modi in cui le differenze etniche e culturali si traducono in pratica quotidiana nel contesto dell'istituzione totale-carcere del Mezzogiorno.

Obiettivo specifico del lavoro è definire un modello dei meccanismi di inclusione nella comunità carceraria attraverso l'analisi di tempi, spazi e relazioni quotidiane. Si tratta, dunque, di carpire le specificità dei processi di prigionizzazione (Clemmer 1941) nei casi in cui essi investano il detenuto straniero.

Questo obiettivo viene perseguito percorrendo due vie:

1. l'analisi dei modi in cui l'Amministrazione Penitenziaria gestisce le presenze allogene (Gennaro 2012);
2. lo studio delle strategie che l'allogeno elabora per garantirsi un ruolo nella comunità detentiva, o difendersi da essa, acquisire o preservare risorse materiali di per sé scarse e parcellizzate (spesa, alimentazione, scuola, lavoro), risorse simboliche e relazionali utili a ottenere un qualche beneficio (relazioni con i pari, con funzionari pedagogici e con gli agenti di polizia penitenziaria).

L'oggetto è analizzato integrando la prospettiva foucaultiana con l'apparato concettuale di Goffman. In particolare, si fa riferimento:

- “all’armatura materiale” di cui l’istituzione penitenziaria si avvale per ingabbiare non più l’errore, ma lo scarto, l’anomalia (Foucault 1975);
- ai meccanismi sociali e alla retorica che il controllore elabora quando produce discorsi tesi all’esclusione (1970);
- alla “microfisica del potere”, agli esercizi quotidiani con cui il controllore si impone, agendo come istanza negativa e come fattore positivo che “attraversa i corpi” (Foucault 1977, 13) e ne determina l’identità.

Da un lato, si considera l’istituzione-carceri come spazio sociale organizzato, campo di pratiche che, traducendosi negli *habitus* (Bourdieu 1983) degli attori – in particolare controllori autoctoni e controllati stranieri - incanalano l’azione lungo sentieri già segnati; dall’altro, al fine di indagare le pratiche di multiculturalismo quotidiano (Colombo e Semi 2007; Colombo 2009) che gremiscono il tempo e lo spazio del detenuto straniero si prendono in esame le strategie di adattamento primario e secondario (Goffman 1961).

È dunque l’apparato concettuale elaborato da Goffman in tema di istituzioni totali e meccanismi di esclusione (1963) ad aver orientato la scelta di criteri metodologici adeguati alla costruzione della base empirica.

Nel saggio confluiscono alcuni materiali raccolti ricorrendo alle principali tecniche di ricerca non standard (Marradi 1997): l’osservazione (Cardano 2011), lo *shadowing* (Czarniawska 2007) e l’intervista comprendente (Kauffman 2009).

Si tratta di una corposa base empirica costruita accedendo ai seguenti spazi sociali osservativi:

- 1 corso di scuola primaria in una classe mista di Poggioreale;
- 3 corsi di scuola secondaria di primo grado presso le “scuole” medie dell’Istituto;
- 1 corso di italiano per stranieri presso l’istituto di Secondigliano;
- 2 sessioni di *shadowing* condotte “seguendo come un’ombra” (Sclavi 1994) un funzionario pedagogico, per un totale di 21 mesi di osservazione etnografica.

Inoltre, sono stati realizzati 2 cicli di interviste (di cui 35 colloqui formali), somministrate a operatori e detenuti di entrambi gli Istituti.

Oggetto di riflessione sistematica sono state, infine, le condizioni di accesso e produzione del materiale empirico. Esse hanno permesso di rileggere, nel resoconto riflessivo (Altheide e Johnson 1994), le tracce di un cammino ideale che si sviluppa tra riflessione teorica e *corpus* testuale, dilatandosi in entrambe le direzioni. Così dall’incontro tra “le parole in sociologia e le parole delle persone” (Demazière e Dubar 1997, trad. it. 2000, 7), si è pervenuti ad alcune conclusioni di ordine sociologico.

Nel Mezzogiorno d’Italia, ossia laddove le presenze straniere rappresentano una minoranza nella minoranza, il carcere utilizza la differenza per riprodurre la funzione nomica che le compete, e lo fa attraverso molteplici strategie di controllo sociale:

1. la combinazione tra gestione panottica dello spazio e isolamento;
2. la mancata tematizzazione dell’alterità e l’attitudine diffusa a trattare la differenza, isolandola e negandola.
3. le strategie pratiche di isolamento che relegano i rituali di interazione entro i confini dello spazio cella.

In sintesi coesistono due definizioni della situazione. La prima emerge dal racconto “organizzativo”, desumibile da ordini di servizio e circolari, in cui si dichiara la “necessità” di classificare i detenuti, aggregando nei reparti soggetti di nazionalità “compatibili” e associando nelle stanze i detenuti della stessa nazionalità. La seconda affiora dalle rappresentazioni che il locutore istituzionale elabora della dimensione detentiva.

Da un lato, costui esprime la tendenza a sovrapporre l’esiguità delle presenze allogene nelle carceri del Mezzogiorno con la scarsa criticità che ne deriva e a eludere lo straniero come categoria sociale e soggetto titolare di diritti.

Dall’altro, contraddicendo ogni retorica su vocazioni professionali e ruoli organizzativi, le attitudini segregazioniste dell’istituzione si combinano secondo una logica che complica la distinzione tra educatori e sorveglianti.

In questo contesto i detenuti elaborano molteplici strategie di adattamento. A titolo esemplificativo si considerino tra le altre:

A. la strutturazione di un'economia del baratto in virtù della quale lo straniero ottiene dal detenuto italiano un qualche genere di prima necessità utile ad alleviare la condizione di deprivazione materiale in cui versa e a sottrarsi dall'esercizio di potere ostentato da chi – anche tra gli allogeni – vive in una condizione di benessere relativo;

B. il tentativo di accedere alle attività trattamentali (lavoro o scuola).

Quest'ambizione, diffusa nella comunità detentiva tutta, assume tra gli stranieri un significato *sui generis*. In assenza di aiuti familiari, il lavoro rappresenta l'unica possibilità di sostentamento ma, con il trascorrere del tempo tende ad assumere ben altri significati finendo, in taluni casi, col divenire strumento attraverso cui allontanare la comunità detentiva e affiliarsi a quella coercitiva.

Le relazioni con il corpo di custodia divengono, così, strategie di *coping* (Lazarus e Folkman 1984) e inducono la tendenza a stipulare nessi controintuitivi tra obbedienza e generosità di chi la esige, di chi assurge, infine, a surrogato di relazioni affettive primarie.

Con ciò si realizza la forma più palese di adattamento primario: membro “normale e programmato” (Goffman 1961/2001, 212) dell'Istituzione che lo contiene, l'internato coopera nello svolgimento delle attività richieste per soggiacere alle strategie di isolamento che l'istituzione persegue elaborando sia tattiche formali, sia “ragioni pratiche” (Bourdieu 1994), implicite, non normate e di comodo, adeguate cioè alle esigenze dell'azione.

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ETHNOGRAPHY OF POPULIST MOVEMENTS

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Friday 6th 9.00-12.00 Room 5 SA

Ce que le terrain nous apprend sur les labellisations politiques stigmatisantes: Retours sur des configurations d'observations ethnographiques auprès de jeunes frontistes 1996-2002

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In my work, I try to show how an outsider wants to integrate the political scene although staying out too. In fact, commitment to the FN is associated with stigmatization and rejection. For its activists, this type of commitment is presumed to have a high social cost. The careers of FN members can be analyzed as "deviant careers", a term used by Howard Becker (Outsiders, 1983). The question is what, in individual itineraries, causes entry and progression in such careers. Particular predispositions derived from political socialisation, specific biographical events, contextual events, chance meetings or a combination of all. On the basis of biographical interviews, I analyze typical FN careers of individuals from different generations and different social and political backgrounds.

My investigation is based on qualitative material. It means that I wanted to meet those activists and their leaders. So I decided to interview frontists. I met 50 young militants, young executives and leaders of the party (Jean-Marie Le Pen himself) in order to ask them about their representations, their feeling about "the youth" in France in the present day. I managed to make them talk about their own life, their itineraries, their families so that I could understand why and how they entered the FNJ or other far right structures.

Those narrations weren't enough to understand their practices. That's the reason why I supplemented the interviews with ethnographic observations. I went to different places (Strasbourg, Paris (national organization), Reims (skinheads tradition) Lille (to see if it's really a popular tradition), Rennes (Britain is a mission earth), Of course east/south (Toulon, Marseille) because the FN is implanted, and west/south (tradition of Pied Noirs like in the ES). I attended a FN national congress and the summer school of the FNJ and the FN. About the summer school of the FNJ I want to say that it's a special experience as a sociologist. I went to Neuvy/Barangeon in a castle situated in the middle of the forest (Sologne). The UDT is the most important formation event for young militants and executives of the young movement. During a week they learn "communication techniques" of propaganda (writing a flyer, answer to journalist's questions...). Different workshops are on offer (give a speech at a meeting...) and the militants have to do sport (football, orientation course, boxing, self defense techniques...). It's not only a political or an ideological training (lectures with the leaders on various issues). It's a physical training because the party's culture is based on the principle: the militants are considered as real political soldiers. And it's because among others of the stigmatized position.

All the participants live in the castle during the week. It's like a "total institution" (Erving Goffman).

I attended meetings between activists, militant activities. But it's not enough to understand the references of those young people. Don't forget that they listen to particular music (RIF and RAC, ...). They do practice sports, they go to stadiums to see football games and most important they militate in other far right organizations like JNR (skinheads) Catholics groups, Paganist groups (Pierre Vial and Terre et Peuple).

Christ stopped at Hénin-Beaumont. Ethnography, populism and the new social issue in a contemporary French territory

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On the basis of on-going fieldwork research, this paper will focus on the choices and stakes of ethnographic immersion in the particular social and political context of the Pas-de-Calais mining basin, in Northern France.

My research takes place mainly in the district of Lens-Hénin, a vast urban agglomeration which I chose to study as a particularly representative case of peripheral, “popular” and suburban France, increasingly attracted by voting abstention and the National Front (NF) of Marine Le Pen. Using ethnographic methods, I aim to focus the transformation of the territoire and describe the local population’s social imaginaries and political representations.

A historical bastion of the left, former epicentre of a two-century long mining history, hotspot of the labour movement and theatre of important union struggles, since the seventies the region faces the devastating effects of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais coal mines’ progressive closure. In a morbid context of deindustrialization, penalized by one of the highest unemployment rates in France, this sector of the mining basin evokes today an inglorious image, often making regional and national headlines because of its current political scandals. The city of Hénin-Beaumont is often the main theatre of these events.

Locus of the famous “Dallongeville trial”, its city council has been since 2009 at the centre of judicial scandals, which continue to tarnish the reputation of the powerful socialist federation of Pas-de-Calais, its opaque functioning and stronghold on the region. The town, “damaged” first by post-mining challenges and then by the socialist administration’s financial slide, has long been coveted by the National Front, whose local candidates prepared the ground well before the arrival of Marine Le Pen in 2007.

The parachuting of Jean-Marie Le Pen’s daughter in the former mining basin’s difficult social and economic context was the beginning of a successful embedding, serving the electoral strategy of the party (which she took the lead of in January 2011), on a local as well as national level.

Hénin-Beaumont, a middle-sized city of 26.000 inhabitants, has therefore become the “electoral stronghold of Marine Le Pen” and the “laboratory of the new National Front”; a city whose image is more and more connected to that of the party, as the icon of its “social turning point” and “de-demonization” process. Through intense media attention and live coverage, press articles and opinion polls, Hénin-Beaumont has become the symbol of the region’s social and economics distress and corrupt left wing politics, discredited by scandals and incapable to face the “populist wave”. A sort of parallel dimension removed from the “world of Christians”, that same France which news channels take care to inform on the health of its popular sectors.

This sequence “market – FN headquarters – miner’s cottage – chip shop – priest (possibly in charge of the local French Communist Party seat)” reinforces clichés about Northern French cities, portrayed as enveloped by poverty and greyness, hosting a disadvantages population which only the NF, in the role of a “grassroots” party, would be capable to understand and defend.

Hénin-Beaumont’s microcosm, with its specificities and problems, has occupied a large part of my initial ethnographical research. I did not aspire to carry out a full immersion at the heart of National Front, nor to focus my attention on its militants, but rather to better get to know the local reality of a city which the media depicts as the symbol of the territory’s political evolutions. I was attracted by the particular social and political landscape, scrutinized and endlessly represented, by the media’s narration of the city and the endless show of the National Front’s propaganda. In Hénin-Beaumont I found myself following, as many other observers, the “populist wave”: journalists and columnists, as well as analysts and documentary makers visit the city regularly, investigating the phenomenon and staying in function of their work and the electoral deadlines. Visitors are numerous, but the city does not lack local observers and analysts. Almost everything is sifted through in detail: the local political jolts, the “new”, formidable National Front, the Rose Mafia saga, the city and its inhabitants. In the background of all this the mining basin where the NF spreads rapidly, an

indispensable geographical connotation to take in to account, almost a Protected Designation of Origin of the “damaged city”, which it resumes and represents all the way from Auchel to Valenciennes.

The exploration of the ancient mining basin and the ethnographic immersion in the urban agglomeration which Hénin-Beaumont forms a part of have allowed me re-frame my observations of the local context and to relativize its “exemplarity”. The district of Lens- Hénin does in fact constitute a privileged point of observation to describe the evolutions of peripheral France and of that which French geographer Christophe Guilluy calls, not without precaution, the new working classes. According to Guilluy, the real “social issue” today concerns rural and peri-urban France, that of small cities and suburbs, which escape sensitive suburbs and cities’ rising property prices, whose economic dynamism benefits only a reduced part of the population. Thanks to observations and encounters with local inhabitants I was able to observe the evolution of living conditions, the social and economic mutations of the territory, such as the surfacing of new preoccupations concerning living in contemporary society. The question of how to describe local society in relation to its history and socio- political heritage must be raised, alongside that of describing the formation of a new imaginary, exclusive to young generations and their specific experience of our time.

From this perspective I reconsidered my first observations of Hénin-Beaumont, trying to answer methodological question raised by Gérard Althabe: “Does the social place attained by research, in which the investigation is placed (the field of daily life with its practices and interactions of which the subject and the ethnologist are the actors, take place within frames, neighbourhoods, networks, companies, which are the products of society itself), possess an autonomy which gives pertinence to the production of its knowledge from within, or is it the scene of a piece whose screenplay is written elsewhere? By restricting oneself to this field, does the researcher not forbid him/herself the comprehension of that which takes place?”¹. While the image of a damaged, working class city eclipses a large part of the sector’s problems and its main social and demographical tendencies, the National Front’s populism conceals the new social issue and the fractures taking place in the peripheral territories of contemporary France. Ethnological enquiry, through a prolonged and diversified immersion in space, allows us to update different levels of analysis of the reality under study. It likewise allows to put practices and representations of the local population in relation with the mechanisms underlying the media’s and local political actors’ construction of specific populations.

Fascism as a shape of populism. Reflections from an anthropology of *third millennium fascists*
Maddalena Gretel Cammelli, EHESS Paris - Università di Bergamo, mgcammelli@gmail.com

In my PhD dissertation, *Millennial Fascism. Contributo ad un'antropologia del fascismo del terzo millennio*, I studied a fascist movement that has been active for ten years in Italy, named CasaPound, from an anthropological perspective.

CasaPound was born in 2003, occupying a building in the city of Rome, then it grew and became a movement present and active in Italy's majors cities. In 2013 it became a political party and participated in the administrative elections.

CasaPound's militants define themselves as *third millennium fascists*, the perfect definition to grasp their continuity with the fascist tradition, and at the same time its ability to adapt it to the present.

In my thesis there is not ideological continuity between the researcher and the object of the study. Thus, the approach and the difficulty of establishing a "right distance" was an important issue.

Despite this difficulty, I consider it very important for anthropological research to go in depth in the comprehension of this kind of phenomenon, exactly because it is only by contact, even if difficult and full of repercussions on the subjectivity of the researcher, that we can create a new way for the comprehension of this kind of phenomenon.

In CasaPound the devotion to the leader has emerged with importance, as well as the fusion of the whole community into his shape. Militants feel to be part of a *community of struggle* and of a

community of destiny, leading them to bypass their physical body, and making of them a unique *organic body*, community ; and bypassing time as well, having them live an *eternal present*.

Ethnographic work permitted us to grasp the importance of emotional aspects posed as fundamental for communitarian belonging. Particularly, music emerged as an aggregative element founding the feeling of community, and the concerts of Zeta Zero Alfa, the group of the founding members of CasaPound, are a real ritual of constitution of the community, where we can see the obedience to the leader and sacrifice (singing all together in chorus, as well as the practice of the *Cinghiamattanza* when, over the voice of the leader singing, militants take off their belts and hurt one another with them).

Fascism is felt by its militants to be a "feeling of the world", thus different from a simple political manifestation. In this sense, the language used by these militants, who pay attention to myths, aesthetic and style, re-propose the main quality of that "new politics" as it was defined by George Mosse, and meanwhile the language of "ideas without words" using "mythological machines", as it was so well defined by Furio Jesi.

CasaPound thus re-proposes in the present time a specific tradition. In the particular form assumed by *third millennium fascism*, we can find the main characteristics of *integralism*, as Douglas Holmes defined it, indeed one of the expressions of populism.

Particularly, we found crucial how CasaPound behaves in relation to *action*. Action results as being important in itself, without a consequential link between the objectives to grasp and the tools used to achieve them. In this sense, it seems that an internal logic is missing, while on the contrary, as Holmes said, its logic it is exactly this capacity to adapt what seems to be opposed. In synthesis : this capacity of going on the other side of the boundaries of rational logic. Fascism emerges thus as the offspring of a precise European cultural tradition, the one studied by Zeev Sternhell and Isaiah Berlin. A tradition that was born in the time of the Enlightenment Revolution, in opposition to it. The critic to the rationality as the cultural and philosophical background of *third millennium fascism* represents the endogenous element that imposes to stop with the analysis of fascisms in terms of something *external, monstrous, crazy*. To grasp the cultural continuity that surrounds and fills the fascist phenomenon will help to understand its existence, its persistence, its return. As well as going to meet fascist militants, which helps to grasp their *humanity*.

Third millennium fascism emerged as an endogenous answer to specific insecurities and fears, as a product of the economic crisis, influenced by the hegemonic decline represented by systems of exchange in time of globalization. In Italy, *third millennium fascism* represents a local answer, offered through radicalization and ethnicization, to those global processes as well.

In the reflections on the convention about populist movements, I could bring a contribution from the experience of this ethnography. The necessity will emerge not to limit the comprehension of the fascist phenomenon to a political science analysis, but, on the contrary, the importance of emotional elements, and internal impulses bringing people to become fascist, and thus, determining the immersion into the fascist community.

V parties? Anthropological Analysis of a contemporary political movement: The “Movement 5 stars”

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The research that I want to present is focused on the phenomenon of the Italian political movement linked to the figure of Beppe Grillo, the "Movement 5 stars." This movement, as formation of civil society, can be described as a social movement in the contemporary definition that it offers the French sociologist M. Wiewiórka. According to the French researcher, heir to the tradition of A. Touraine and Melucci A., contemporary movements are part of a national and global dimension to one time. From the results of my ethnographic research proved it, the “Movement 5 stars” has developed on these two dimensions. My research then seeks to demonstrate how civil society, that

shares the grillina identity, is the result of a process of subjectivation and politicization of politics, through which we can reconstruct the history of Italian political representation in recent decades. A story that, has its roots in the Italian political process and in the development of globalization as an economic, historical, cultural and political phenomenon. A story that sees the "Movement 5 stars" assume the role of the contemporary populist movement par excellence. For this reason, after analyzing the different perspectives that social research offers on the issue of populism, having found in the reading of this phenomenon gives Ernesto Laclau the reading much more close to the results of my ethnographic research, I try to explain these ethnographic elements using some of his theoretical considerations. When Ernesto Laclau speaks of populism as a chance to understand the real form of political representation of civil society, by introducing analytical elements that find their roots in the work of Antonio Gramsci, he opens the door to new questions. In this regard, I propose a definition of "Movement 5 stars" as a populist phenomenon that offers new interpretations regarding the representation of Italian politics. My ethnographic research was carried out in France and Italy, in the period 2009/2010 and therefore precedes and anticipates the election results and the political situation we are seeing now. For this reason, my research has to be read as an investigation into the birth of the "Movement 5 stars". In the first part of my work I rebuilt the emergence of Beppe Grillo's political commitment and I put this in connection with the historical, political and cultural events of Italy in those years. I rebuilt the main events that led to the birth of the political movement 5 stars and, in doing so, I gave particular importance to the symbolic meaning of the V-Day in 2007 and 2008 and at the role played in this phase by public figures such as the journalist Marco Travaglio. Since the "Movement 5 stars" was born on the internet even before the reality of social relations, a further phase of my ethnographic research and my subsequent analysis are focused on the web site www.beppegrillo.it and on the social network Meetup.com, leading to an experience of anthropology of cyberspace. In front of the international dimension of Beppe Grillo's Friends Meetup, in order to restore the fullest possible picture of the socio-cultural and political emerging phenomenon, for this phase of research I chose two different ethnographic fields: the Beppe Grillo's Friends Meetup in Paris and in Florence. Despite each of these two field, has given me the opportunity to discover and investigate actions, social dynamics and different content, in both I found the motivations to define the "Movement 5 stars" as a social phenomenon of great interest for the history of Italian political representation as a whole. The study of the "Movement 5 stars" enriched by the perspective of Laclau, allowed me to shed light on new aspects of the Italian civil society mainly related to the development of a "good citizenship" and a sense that I call "cittadinità" or "civicness" which, until now has been not so much shared. When the people of the "Movement 5 stars" claiming the right to be respected as Italian citizens, it is proposed the "cittadinità" as the basis of their socio-political identity. Identity still present in their political discourse. To highlight this aspect, in my research I use the Foucault's language of governmentality because, in my opinion, to be part of the "Movement 5 stars" shows how the path of subjectification of the militants corresponds to a process of politicization that develops in a continuous negotiation of dependence and independence between the private entity and the public entity, in relation, also to the questions that arise in organizing structurally: the shape of the political party and the relationship with a leader. A negotiation that can be brought out even looking at the relationship that exists between the local and global identity that characterizes the political and social action of the members of the movement "grillino."

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Northern League and immigration: rhetoric and policies in the Treviso paradox **Francesca Marengo, University of Siena, francesca.marengo@hotmail.it**

The second report of the National Council of Economy and Labour on the integration of immigrants in Italy in 2003 stipulated that the areas with the highest degree of integration in Italy were the Veneto region (among the Italian regions) and the province of Treviso (among the Italian provinces). The way in which this degree was calculated did not really matter either to journalists or the local policy-makers of those same areas. Hence, since then the town of Treviso - at least up until very recently a symbol and stronghold of the Northern League party - has been regarded as a model of good practice in administrative management of immigration. In other words, it seemed that the functionality of a rhetoric marked by the harshness of accusations against foreign nationals was manifested in Treviso with the completion of the social inclusion process of those same immigrants, who had been so stigmatized in the Northern League slogans.

How can a local authority led by members of the most xenophobic party of Italy - which has made the fight against immigrants its spearhead - be able to meet the challenge of immigrants' integration into its society? The immediate reply based on common sense is in favour of the hypothesis of a gap between the rhetoric used by the Northern League members and administrative practice at a local level, thus depicting the Northern League as a Janus-faced discourse that opposes exclusivist slogans to inclusive practices, so as to earn Treviso the title of "migrants' integration model."

The paper intends to illustrate a fieldwork, conducted between February and June 2010 aimed to seek answers to the aforementioned question. This gave us the opportunity to gain an insight in the political, social and institutional life of Treviso and to outline a full picture of the subject and the facts related to the management of immigration in Treviso. The purpose of this research was to analyze whether, how and in what way the local government of the City and Province of Treviso led by the Northern League have affected the life chances of migrants as persons¹ in the local area and community - a far cry from the mere chance of survival - favouring, hindering or remaining on the margins of the grant of rights and services to foreign citizens. It is investigated how and whether Treviso was a place for the implementation of good political practices for the recognition of difference, that is pluralism and integration policies for migrants in society (Grillo, Pratt 2002). The

implicit aim is the widening of horizons to non-institutional stakeholders (civil society, the third sector and migrants themselves), equally involved in so-called "multicultural" initiatives and local policies for immigration (Grillo, Pratt 2002).

Considering politics as a multidimensional phenomenon and crucial intersection between ideologies, practices, powers that involves all aspects of social reality, even outside the institutional and political space (Abélès, Jeudy 1997; Li Causi 1993), has given rise to multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995), able to investigate the connections between the different levels of action and between the different actors involved. In this context, analytical, research has become a continuous movement between unpredictable events and a field of study built day by day, opening up unexpected developments. Since the objective was to monitor the implementation of local policies promoted by different stakeholders and how they are reflected in the social reality, the studying through approach has been chosen (Shore, Wright 1997), which traces the paths through which these relationships develop over time and space. In so doing one might therefore escape the temptation of considering the policy making process as a linear sequence of decisions, the result of a hierarchical relationship between policy makers and the ruled (Però, Shore, & Wright 2011). The classic anthropological analysis instruments have, therefore, been supplemented by the analysis of documentary material produced by local governments that offered the opportunity to reflect on the gap between what politicians claim and what they actually do, and reconstruct the diachronic picture of political and social events that have affected Treviso.

In the belief that the social inclusion of migrants necessarily involves the enjoyment of unquestionable basic civil, social and political rights - which cannot be ignored in the light of the research conducted -, one wonders if, rather than integration, it would be more correct to speak of differentiated inclusion, that is an alternative approach to the one advocating pluralism in society (Castles, Davidson 2000). On the one hand, if the Northern League political leaders cry out against the alarming invasion of immigrants, by denouncing the threat to the integrity of the Italian people inherent in ethno- cultural pluralism, on the other hand, the same leaders are aware of the contribution provided by foreign labour to the performance of the Italian economy. In practice, these two contradictory aspects could reconcile the implementation of a stretched differentiated inclusion policy aimed at accepting migrants only to a certain extent, namely within functional and temporal limits. "They are welcome as workers, but not as permanent citizens; they are welcome as individuals, but not as families or community; they are welcome as temporary residents, but not as long-term residents" (Castles, Davidson 2000: 61). Given the insecurity and invisibility of their lives in a foreign land, migrants would thus be stripped of their potential threatening aspect and therefore accepted in society.

The challenge has been to study the Northern League at work, away from claims, rites, ritual Po river water ampoules, cries, slogans, the middle finger, but only focusing on governance, local government, the management of the 'public good', thus revealing the contradictions, nuances, multiple identities, but also coherence, intersections, the political ideology of Northern League standard-bearers in the Treviso

area. This challenge has involved also the observation of the stakeholders without the local authorities, actively involved in the political and social processes underlying the management of services for migrants (as well as other beneficiaries), thus unveiling the connections between the Northern League politicians, constituencies and citizens, between politics and civil society from which concrete policies emerge.

Inside the «black box» of Northern League's communitarian populism. Ethnography of two local party branch

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In a sociological perspective, the most stable socio-cultural trait of Northern League is probably a ideologization process of the concept of local «territory» (Biorcio, 1997). This process was realized,

during almost three decades, through the elaboration of a specific political paradigm, based on markedly communitarian traits. A fundamental element in the construction of Northern League's political paradigm is based on the «invention» of a language and symbolic order proper and specific. Mobilizing the «common people» pathos (Canovan, 1982), Northern League represents itself as the party of the people, able to speak the language of people (over-simplified and intentionally rough). Moreover, particularly thank to the personification and symbolization process enacted by Umberto Bossi, the historical leader (Belpoliti, 2012), the party becomes a proper «mask of the people» (De Matteo, 2011). According to this populist paradigm, the «people», in symbolical terms, plays a global role of synthesis (Incisa di Camerana, 2000), representing a homogeneous, non-conflictual unity that produces identification mechanisms proper of a (post)modern *Gemeinschaft* (Berlin, 1968).

Accordingly to these considerations, in my contribution I propose an analytical framework that does not reject completely the concept of populism, adopting instead a more detailed specification, namely the definition of «communitarian populism». This definition in my opinion allows to avoid the long – and often poorly interesting – debate about the definition of the party, alternatively, as federalist, autonomist, nationalist and so on. In fact, if we look at the whole story of the Northern League, the declinations of the new «homeland» are various and changed during the time (regions, macro region, Padania etc.), but they are based on a single, fundamental ideological assumption: the community, understood as foundations myth and unifying paradigm (Aime, 2012).

Moreover, my contribution is aimed to a more specific analysis of the interpretative category of populism – a sort of «black box» that often remains too vague and generic –. To this purpose, I propose a detailed analysis of several social processes that contribute to construct factually the populist community. Thirdly, my analysis is not conducted, as usually happens in the study of political parties, considering the Northern League as macro actor in the political-institutional arena, but looking at the party as organization, territorially dislocated and daily re-produced through the participation of militants and local leaders. The paper is therefore located on the one hand in the framework of the political ethnography (Kubik, 2009; Auyero, Joseph, 2007) and, on the other hand, in that of organizational ethnography (Bruni, 2003; Piccardo, Benozzo, 1996).

With regard to the research design, I selected two different local branches of the Northern League, which have been given the fictitious names Contrada and Metropolis. The two branches were selected for their location, opposite and specular, at the extremities of two analytical axes: a territorial axis and an organisational one. Contrada is a branch in a small town of Veneto province and is in a central position from a territorial point of view, being a north-east province, the birthplace of the Northern League, but peripheral with respect to the political-organisational axe. In contrast, the branch of Metropolis, located in a large city of Lombardy, is peripheral from a territorial perspective, as large urban areas the places of least consensus (Passarelli, Tuorto 2012; Agnew et al. 2002). Metropolis, however, is central on the internal organisational axis, being close to the managerial, organisational and political heart of the party. The data collection was realized through the uncover participant observation of ordinary party's activities: mainly the weekly branch meetings, but also various kinds of political and convivial initiatives (public demonstrations and events, flyering, social dinners and the like). and ethnographic interviews to some militants and leaders of both branches.

To sum, the paper aims at analyzing the ideological-cultural repertoires and the processes of construction through which the communitarian paradigm is articulated, assuming as analytical perspective the daily organizational life of the two branches. This approach permits a sort of analytical deconstruction of the theoretical «black box» of populism, showing how the concept subtends multiple, different and often interrelated dimensions that, together, contribute to the social construction of the populist community. It will be showed how the communitarian ideal in the local branches is articulated through cultures and social processes on the one hand similar and on the other hand very different and related to the two socio-political context. More specifically, the paper will present several dimensions characterizing the two ideological communities: the re/production of distinctive and differentiated gender symbolic orders (Gherardi, 1995), associated to specific

ideal types of hegemonic masculinities (Connell, 1995); the regulation of the party's daily life through different repertoires and interactional codes (in Contrada, the «symbolic-ritual mimetism»; in Metropolis, «the symbolic-cultural dispositive of the border»); the deep ideologization of work and productivity (Marzano, 1998), based on the material and symbolical role of the small-medium enterprises, a proper «shrine of padanian values» (Biorcio, 1999, 70).

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HEGEMONY/SUBALTERNITY. GLOBAL SCENARIOS AND LOCAL PRACTICES

Convenor: Elena Bougleux, University of Bergamo, elena.bougleux@unibg.it

HEGEMONY/SUBALTERNITY. GLOBAL SCENARIOS AND LOCAL PRACTICES I

Thursday 5th 16.00-19.00 – 1 P

Is knowledge power? An analysis of the limits of empowerment-through-knowledge in the case of post-mastectomy reconstruction

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This presentation is based on an ongoing research on the question of the relationship between patients and the medical system in the case of breast cancer, and in particular of the post-mastectomy reconstruction. The data here presented have been collected in France (in the Ile-de-France region) and in Italy (prevalently in Apulia and Emilia-Romagna). They include 103 interviews with patients, oncologists, surgeons, nurses, psychologists, and two focus groups with, respectively, 5 and 8 patients. I have also conducted several episodes of participating observation of patients' associations' meetings, and I have participated to the doctors-patients meetings organized by an institute specialized in tumor cure, meetings these last that had as their goal the production of informative material on breast reconstruction. In the presentation I intend to show how, even in presence of forms of resistance and of construction of counter-knowledge on the patients' behalf, the hegemony of the knowledge held by medical professionals limits patients' possibilities of action in defining the intervention on their body.

Mastectomy, that is, the total ablation of the breast, is today necessary in the 30% of breast cancer cases. In the case of a mastectomy a reconstruction is generally possible. This last practice occupies an ambiguous position: it is effectuated following a serious illness, but it does not make part of the cures prescribed to limit the course of the pathology. Even if some articles written by plastic surgeons underline the psychological benefits that the reconstruction can have, reconstruction has a discretionary character and many patients decide not to undergo it. Despite this discretionary nature, it is characterized, as other medical practices, by the monopoly of the doctors on what is considered the legitimate knowledge, and, therefore, by a hegemony of the doctors on the specifics of the surgical intervention. Reconstruction can be effectuated through the insertion of a prosthesis or through different autologous transplant techniques. Among these, reconstruction through prostheses is the most widespread in function of being the simpler under the technical point of view, as it does not necessitate specific competencies on the surgeons' behalf, and can be conducted in a relatively rapid time. Reconstruction through prostheses is not however the most indicated: the condition of the tissues after radiotherapy, the dimensions of the breast and the result desired by the patient can make other type of intervention more adapt. However, the decisional power of the patients is often limited by the organization of the healthcare system and by the status attributed to the practice. Even if the patient holds the right to decide if to undergo a reconstruction or not, choosing to undergo it means ceding partially to other people the possibility to decide on *how* to conduct the operation.

The interviews and the observations I have conducted show how in the two countries the subalternity of the patients in relation to the medical institutions concretizes in different forms. In the Ile-de-France region the reconstruction practice is gradually shifted from the public to the private sector; increasingly numerous are indeed the patients that after a mastectomy find themselves forced to ask for the services of a private surgeon, paying for the intervention. In Italy, in regions that I studied, this intervention is on the contrary completely covered by the national

healthcare system, but reconstructions with techniques different from the prosthesis insertion are effectuated rarely and in a limited number of medical centers. This different economic organization opens the way to different asymmetries in the relationship and in the management of the power of knowledge.

The interviews effectuated in France show that the patients, once in the private system circuit, often find themselves consulting doctor after doctor. These consultations are often described as failed and frustrating, as rarely the doctor-patient negotiation concludes in favor of the latter. Most of the surgeons have interest in orienting the patients towards the technique they master most, and often offer an altered presentation of the problems and the risks of the techniques they appreciate less, emphasizing on the other hand the advantages of the technique the professional considers “the best”. When the patient has already a clear idea of the kind of operation she would prefer to undergo, her opinion and her knowledge on the matter are often denigrated as non-specialist knowledge, coming from a person that “does not have ten years of university study behind her”.

In the Italian context, it is the limited and unequal diffusion of surgical techniques that are alternative to the prostheses that impedes the patients from advancing requests on the management of their body.

The systems of resistance used by the patients are several. Some have developed a complex of in-depth technical knowledge during the illness, by reading articles, participating to medical conferences and talking with other patients. In other cases they have participated actively to some associations or have founded new ones. Some of the associations founded by patients have the goal to promote the less common and more difficult techniques, meeting, in this activity, the full backing of the doctors interested in the diffusion of these methods of reconstruction. The appropriation and the redefinition of the margins of a technical knowledge made by the patients is an element that confers them a greater negotiating power in the relationship with the doctors. However, this strategy presents some critical aspects. Not all the patients can, or are interested in, acquiring this knowledge: among the patients I interviewed, those that lived in more peripheral regions, or that came from the lower classes, had less resources to build a counter-knowledge. Moreover, this knowledge does not translate directly in a form of empowerment. The knowledge that one can acquire on the variety and the characteristics of the reconstruction practice rarely allow them to intervene on the distortions and the limits of healthcare systems they deal with, and do not cancel surgeons’ hegemony on their bodies.

Through the analysis until now conducted, this presentation aims to be a way to open a reflection of what could be further and more effective forms of patients’ action in the management of the relationship with the medical institutions.

The patients’ lockers: banished spaces or tools for agency? An ethnographic-textual analysis

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The paper presents an ethnographic analysis of the use and the meaning of the “lockers” of hospitalized patients, as they emerge from narrative interviews collected by nursing students and trainees, who attended a University course in Cultural Anthropology.

The work moves from the acknowledgment of the patient’s “locker” as a peripheral object from which the ethnographer can have an access, narrative- mediated, to the experience of the hospitalized patient. The focus on the material culture, which gathers around the patient during the (either short or long, either temporary or permanent) stays in the clinical contexts, grounds less on the aim to build the plot (or “*semantic net*”, Good 1995 [2006]) of the patients’ illness narratives (and the illness’ causes) and more on the intent to reveal the “cues” in the scattered details of objects and practices in which the patient’s career ordinarily unfolds (Goffman 1961). Within the reflexive perspective adopted by the authors, the object under investigation does not reveal as self-evident, but rather, it surfaces through the inscriptions and gaps of the social actors visible in their

practices (Padiglione 1996)

Starting from this interest, students of a course of Cultural Anthropology taught by one of the authors in the University School of Nursing, have interviewed hospitalized patients, asking them questions about the objects they keep in their locker and what their personal meanings. Interviews have been audio-recorded and fully transcribed.

The analyses document the fine-grained practices of the patients' agency, practices that remain invisible in those spaces which, for the very same peripheral and mundane nature, are conceded to patients and they escape the eye monitoring (Foucault 1975, 1974-75 [2003]). From this point of view, the locker results a space of potential personalization and resistance, where the patient's agency is tested, together with the ethnographer's ability to describe and appraise it.

Besides the study of the material culture exhibiting in the periphery and inside the locker, aimed at interpreting the meaning of specific objects and images reported by the participants, the authors also apply a reflexive ethnographic methodology to the analysis of the students-patients interaction unfolding during the interview, as reported by the students' writings /essays. The students' essays, which include the interview transcripts, framed and commented by the author, merge together the model of the student training (the healthcare assistant as *apprentice*), the model of the anamnesis (the healthcare assistant as *member* of the institutional and professional health community) and the ethnographic model (the healthcare assistant as *novice* observer and ethnographer).

Particularly, the analysis of how the students interpreted the task of writing an ethnographic report of their experience, displays how the nursing students have experiences and invented their role as "researcher", hybridizing it with, respectively, the hegemonic medical knowledge, which is inscribed and utmost authorized by artifacts such as, the clinical record, and the "charity" and "humanizing" attitudes characterizing the interpretation of their mission as the healthcare assistants. Concurrently visible in the students' texts that *frame* (Goffman 1974) the report of the encounter with the patients, are

- the linguistic markers of the objectivizing and depriving clinical register (typified in the presentation of the *clinical case* or, the *clinical record*), and
- expressions and markers of affect and *politeness* (Brown e Levinson 1987), casting them as more intimate interlocutors of the patient, those who are able to get close to his private, subjective experience, and to humanize the place and the time of his permanence in the hospital.

The work finally discusses in critical light the effects that these "ethnographic" texts/reports by the nursing students/interviewers/writers obtain upon the patients' *authorship* (with regards their descriptions and narratives collected in the interview), , and the ways in which the "humanizing" register obtains sometimes (falling into paternalism) to lessen, rather than highlighting, the agency and the individual identities of the patients.

Overall, the research emphasizes the value of the reflexive perspective in helping discover and consider the object - target of knowledge procedures- as a product of mediation, doubly accomplished by both the interactions and the written texts (Padiglione 1996; Padiglione & Fatigante 2009).

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Symptomatic emergencies. Hegemonies and subjectifications in the life of asylum seekers and refugees

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Michel Foucault's thought on biopower (1978) Giorgio Agamben's works on bare life and the state of exception (1995, 2003) represent a strong theoretical framework within the social sciences which deal with the issue of asylum. It has the merit of combining in their mutual implications the spheres of power, body and subjectivity. Nevertheless, as Fabio Dei (2013), among others, pointed out, an anthropology overly seduced by this paradigm risks to return an image more shaped on a general philosophy of history, than on the actual social practices of individuals or groups, which, as the ethnographic research demonstrates, are always situated, unique and never just "bare life".

Based on the empirical data collected through his fieldwork and focusing on *agency* as well as on *structure*, ethnographic research is able to show how subjectivity can emerge between the subject subdued by disciplinary powers (Foucault 1976, Butler 2005) and the subject reduced to bare life. That's what Michel Agier (2011) and Aiwah Ong (2005) do, though in different contexts: the former portrays a complex picture of the dynamics at work in the camps of the south, where refugees and displaced persons, far from being "bare life", every day play shrewd practices of agency; the latter points out how, in different areas of social everyday life (welfare, judicial system, public hospitals, local churches and NGOs) Cambodian refugees in California are subjected to rules, regulations, systems but at the same time they deal with and, in some ways, change these practices and these systems by diverting the control exerted on them, mainly through embodied strategies, introducing critical elements into the dialectics of subjection.

In this context, the reading of the issue of body in Gramsci's work suggested by some anthropologists (Piazza, 2003) is useful for understanding the hegemonic dialectic and the balance of powers that act in the processes of health and disease. The opposition hegemonic/subaltern is a misconception that does not consider the analysis of the smallest and intimate dimensions of this dialectic, observed especially in its contradictions, and subaltern actors' ways of resistance and transformative creativity. On one hand, medical anthropology analyzes health and disease as the embodiment of social inequalities and structural violence (Farmer, 2004), on the other hand as a way of subjectivation of a *lieb* (Husserl, 1931), which not only is overdetermined by social and political powers, but also is itself a producer of reality, capable of performing the context, through embodied practices of resistance (Lock and Scheper-Hughes, 1987).

I would like to discuss some specific situations I observed during my fieldwork. It took place in 2013 in two public projects for asylum seekers and refugees in the cities of Bergamo and Turin.

Firstly I shall focus on the hegemony / counter-hegemony dialectic in different EU countries. The Dublin Regulation requires member states to the applicant for international protection back to the country of his /her first entrance and identification. This rule was clearly imposed by northern countries, Germany in particular, in order to limit the stream of asylum seekers landed on southern European coasts, who want to move to traditionally more organized countries as far as (in the) management policies and practices of asylum are concerned.

In my fieldwork, I learnt from reliable sources of information both from the north and the south of Italy, that there is a sort of silent connivance between asylum seekers' migration project (those who want to flee to northern Europe) and Italian institutions. On the ships of the Italian navy engaged in "Mare Nostrum" mission, not all migrants are regularly identified by the soldiers, as the rules would require. Therefore some of them after a short period move to (north in) northern Italy: in Milan Central Train Station they meet NGOs workers who take them to temporary shelters jointly managed by public institutions and NGOs themselves. After few days a lot of them just disappear. Every social worker knows they took the way to Sweden, Germany etc, probably through the illegal assistance of a *passer* who helps them to cross the border, for an amount of 1000 euros or more.

Secondly I shall present the story of three asylum seekers I met both as a physician and an ethnologist. In the first case – where I acted just as a therapist - I experienced the extreme fluidity of the shape that suffering takes: if it's true what Cathy Caruth (1995) says about some refugees,

victims of violence and torture, that in their life the History shows up as a symptom, it is equally true that the way to express such suffering is subject to negotiation between patient and therapist. Acting on the signifier of the disease, the body, I witnessed an offhand shift of the symptoms that in our epistemology we may call "from the psychic to the corporeal". As a physician I co-constructed with the patient the shape of his suffering. In this process it is interesting to analyze, on one hand, the implicit and unconscious mental attitude of the therapist (Devereux 1967), on the other hand the patient's embodied strategies (Csordas, 1990), both apparently overdetermined by broader biopolitical processes, but at least not fully subjected to hegemonical powers.

In the second case – where I acted both as a physician and an anthropologist - I joined a process I would call "negotiation of evil" between a refugee, a social worker and a hospital physician. Different epistemologies of health and disease met there: the biomedical one, clearly hegemonic, the patient's one, subaltern but stubbornly self-proclaimed and extraordinarily effective in order to preserve and rebuild a new representation of himself, literally broke into pieces by the experience of torture.

In the third case – where I acted only as an ethnologist - I observed the complex strategy played by a refugee to obtain both the Italian identity card and a new passport of his country, - a thing which is not permitted to a holder of international protection, - in order to return secretly to his country to look after some matters. All his strategy obtained legitimacy from a sickness co-constructed by the refugee, the social workers, the psychologists and, in some way, the police itself.

In conclusion, what I observed within my fieldwork is well summed up by Ivo Quaranta (2005): "The disease emerge as a product of, and a way of resistance to, dominant ideologies: product of dominant ideologies, insofar as suffering comes from the iatrogenic effects of the social system; but also a way of resistance to those dominant ideologies, insofar as the somatic suffering emerges as an embodied way of criticizing hegemony and as a subjective repositioning concerning the social world inscribed in the body itself"

How to become a “good” worker. An ethnographic analysis of the conflicts surrounding learning and knowledge in a classroom-based training course for apprentices.

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In this paper we will discuss the conflicts arisen from the learning process and the conflicting ideas about how to become a worker we witnessed during participant observation in a classroom-based learning course for the acquisition of the “basic and general skills” required as part of the apprenticeship contract.

We will particularly focus on the antagonistic relationship between the teachers and the workers-students of the training program. This conflict, we argue, can be described as an objection to the hegemonic view concerning how to learn and what it is necessary to learn in order to become a “good” worker. The course participants strongly contested the knowledge transmitted by the teachers and the manner in which it was transmitted. They argued it was not relevant for their work lives: “you live on the moon, we live in the real world”.

The ethnographic observation was carried out in a Training Centre of Unione Artigiani (a trade association of artisan businesses) where classroom-based training programs required for the apprenticeship contract were provided. Those courses are subsidized by the European Social Fund as part of the European policies that promote the dual education system in vocational training. This system combines practical work-related training and classroom-based learning (EC 2013).

Those training programs promote a view of the worker-citizen as a successful participant in the labour market through lifelong learning. In this neo-liberal conception of the welfare state, social policies consist of training and citizens are demanded to constantly reinvent themselves as flexible workers (Olssen 2006). Individual skills and self entrepreneurship are promoted as the key assets of a more competitive European society in the global market.

Classroom-based training can be depicted, in this framework, as a tool that creates more “competitive” workers, according to the European guidelines (EC 2012): workers should comply with the rules, be enterprising, flexible, inclined to learn and innovate. Those attitudes were promoted as highly desirable during the lessons, that dealt with the following topics: work relationships and communication; economics and business organization; rights and responsibilities of employers and employees; safety of the work environment.

This training was imparted according to a didactic method that had already proved inadequate for these young men, mainly secondary school dropouts. Nevertheless teachers emphasized the role of classroom-based learning and the lessons mainly involved one-way communication. Moreover, teachers insisted on the importance of qualifications and that the acquisition of knowledge should be bureaucratically certified through coded lists of skills. This model of knowledge transmission, and what it is relevant to know in order to be able to interact in the work environment, were constantly defied by the young apprentices, both explicitly and implicitly. Instead, they came up with an antithetic view of the process of becoming a worker and what being a “real” labourer means. This view is exemplified in their aversion for the school-like environment of the training centre, as well as their refusing to write or read. They think schools are useless places, also because they have been made feel unfit for them.

The young apprentices affirmed, instead, that knowledge is best acquired in the framework of informal and non-hierarchic relationships; learning happens in the process of sharing specific problems and the skills needed to solve them (Illich 1971). They maintained that knowledge is created in everyday peer relationships. According to the apprentices, they were learning to become workers thanks to the on-going relational exchange and the confrontations they experienced in the local small business where they were employed.

This view of learning was associated to a corresponding refusal of safety rules, guidelines and contracts that define employees rights and responsibilities, bureaucratic procedures required by the welfare state. The apprentices experienced both the kind of knowledge imparted by the teachers during the lessons and those rules as unrealistic, oppressive impositions, detached from reality.

According to these young men practical knowledge can’t be standardized through abstract rules, disentangled from daily social relationships. “How to do” can not be learned in theory and then applied in practice. Instead, they emphasized the autonomy and free agency they experienced in the work environment. This way, they took revenge of the “useless” school method of the training program: “I feel like at school again! I did my best to be thrown out!”; “do you know why I don’t like this teacher? She behaves like a primary-school teacher. She can’t teach me my job, what I do every day”. The straightforward relationships they build in their informal workplaces, on the contrary, were described as equal and emancipatory (“I have my boss on whatsapp”, “I call him and say: hey, I’m not coming to work today”).

The apprentices seemed to prefer weak regulation in workplace relations. They maintained that disagreements should be handled in face-to-face (even aggressive) confrontations and work conditions should be individually negotiated. This view is consistent with a strong individualization of their actual work relations, dominated by personal and paternalistic relationships, and enlightens their ambivalence for the subordinate condition they experience in the workplace.

The paper depicts the interactions and conflicts arisen in the classroom among the teachers, the authors themselves and these young switched-off workers (Castells 2000) who distance themselves from the excluding rhetoric of the knowledge economy, but at the same time bought the idea that personal characteristics and self entrepreneurship are the key assets in the workplace.

In this respect, the imposed model of the flexible, life-long learner European worker, matched the apprentices’ resistant reaction, concealing their weakness in the labour market and neutralizing their capacity to question its overall structure. Their limited objection to the expert knowledge and the schooled society (Illich 1971) is thus complicit with the hegemonic rhetoric. The reactions of the apprentices to the authors’ challenges to this view enlighten how instances of resistance and subordination are ambiguously entangled.

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HEGEMONY/SUBALTERNITY. GLOBAL SCENARIOS AND LOCAL PRACTICES II

Thursday 5th 16.00-19.00 – 1 P

Isochimica: a social medicine of asbestos

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The Isochimica factory was installed in the western outskirt of the city of Avellino, more precisely in Borgo Ferrovia, in the years that followed the earthquake of 1980. From 1982 to 1988, the factory was used for removing asbestos panels from railroad carriages for commission of the Italian National Railway Company (Ferrovie dello Stato – FS).

Despite the fact that it was only operative for a short period of time, the plant has produced incredible damages to the environment and has caused the appearance of asbestos-related pathologies among the workers employed in the factory and the population of the surrounding areas. Indeed, sanitation activities were performed in the plant without taking the necessary safety measures to protect the workers and the environment.

Unfortunately, the effects of these activities are still evident at the present time. The site where the factory used to be located has not been sanitized yet and several hundreds of cubic metres of asbestos can be found in that area, in proximity of schools, houses and sport fields. Many of the workers have contracted asbestos-related diseases and are still struggling to be granted rights such as early retirement. Eleven have already died and the incidence of asbestos-related illnesses and deaths is incredibly high in Borgo Ferrovia.

The following considerations result from a research that examines the Isochimica case as a metaphor of a universal condition, which deals with the modern logics of surplus extraction from human beings and natural resources (Gallino 2011).

The inquiry aims at retracing the stories of the men and women who have been inevitably marked by the asbestos and whose existences are linked to an environmental disaster that has been carried out in the name of profit. To do that, the research has combined an accurate bibliographic analysis with an ethnographic study that has been realised in a time span of two years and has entailed: participant observation (participation to assemblies and demonstrations organized by the former workers of the factory and the local population), collection of audio-visual material, analysis of biographies, study of medical reports, legal proceedings and legislations and review of the local press from the years in which the factory started to be operative to nowadays.

The Isochimica factory, as a space of production of pathologies and death, is also the location of a series of events that are marked by the action of expert knowledge. In this context, the medical science is called to put into practice its exercises of syntactic reorganization of disease (Foucault 1963), which serve to redefine the limits of the visible/invisible of the pathological.

This paper presents a section of the research that analyses the processes through which the expert knowledge has controlled (and controls) the production, functioning and circulation of the discourses on asbestos related pathologies in the Isochimica case. Therefore, it examines the

practices that govern the experience of the perception of asbestos related damages, the ways in which the “glance” is defined (*Ibidem*) and the processes of selection of the knowledge subjects.

The analysis framework comprises all institutions that were designated for the safeguard and protection of the workers and public health with regards to the Isochimica factory. In particular, the study looks at the function of Asl Avellino², whose role was to ensure the respect of environmental and public health legislations and to constantly monitor the impact of industrial activities on the workers and local population’s health statuses. It examines the role of the Labour Inspectorate of the city of Avellino, which was to prevent and verify potential violations of labour legislations and watch over workers’ safety in the factory. In addition, the actions implemented by the INAIL office of Avellino are taken into consideration, especially those aimed at determining the percentage of invalidity for the former workers of the factory. This framework of expert knowledge is completed by all doctors, hospitals and universities which acted as experts and consultants for the workers in order to assess and certify asbestos related pathologies.

Analysing the transformations of the “glance” of expert knowledge helps highlighting the different forms of truth that are opposed to the requests for safeguard from the inhabitants of Borgo Ferrovia and the former workers of the factory.

These processes of truth construction have been articulated through two different phases: the initial concealment of the danger connected to the sanitation of asbestos carriages and the subsequent minimization of pathological damages produced by the prolonged exposure to asbestos.

The attempt to conceal the threat inherent to asbestos has to be interpreted in relation to the historical context in which the industrial operation of Isochimica took place. Indeed, in the early 1980s, the harmful effects of asbestos were generally known in Italy and the workers of different factories such as Eternit in Casale Monferrato (Altopiedi, Panelli 2012; Corlianò 2012; Divertito 2009) and Officine Grandi Riparazioni in Bologna were starting to protest against the use of asbestos in railroad carriages and to claim their right to health (Del Bello 2010).

In other words, Isochimica was born in a moment in which the threat of asbestos played a primary role in the public debate; therefore, the practices and discourses developed by the institutions tried to hide the political and economic project on which the factory was built: locating sanitation activities in Borgo Ferrovia, where «they [the inhabitants] are either killed by asbestos or by misery».

Contrarily, the attempt to minimize the damages caused by the exposure to asbestos has been planned and implemented after the closure of the Isochimica factory in order to dismiss the social security instances undertaken by former workers affected by asbestos related diseases. In light of the fact that any of the actions implemented by the workers has achieved successful results, it is arguable that the process of construction of truth, put into place by technical and medical knowledge, has produced the desired outcomes.

Hence, these processes (of truth construction) are analysed in this study in relation to the principle of governmentality (Foucault 1978), namely in the context of those government strategies which define what the State is entitled to do or not to do (*Ibidem*). More precisely, the refusal of an early retirement is interpreted as a power exercise which stems directly from the transition from a system of Government to a system of Governance and the rationalization/reduction of welfare actions. In other words, it arises from the metamorphosis of the Welfare State (Castel 1995).

The considerable power discrepancy between governing and governed subjects has produced two conflicting dynamics. The first one concerns the workers’ claim for the right to a safe job, which, after the closure of the plant and the appearance of the diseases, has become a claim for the right to life. These forms of claims, deprived of any political connotation, are completely disconnected from the conflict between capital and labour.

The second dynamic has to do with the inhabitants of Borgo Ferrovia and, in particular, with the mothers of the neighbourhood, who founded, in 2013, a “Spontaneous Committee for the Sanitation of Isochimica” (Cocibis - Comitato Cittadino spontaneo Bonifica Isochimica). The issues the committee deals with are close to the themes of the *biocide* and the safeguard of the local population’s right to health.

The 15 mothers who founded Cocibis started their action after the seizure of the Isochimica site, which was implemented by the prosecutor of the city of Avellino, Rosario Cantelmo, in June 2013 with the motivation of environmental disaster.

The committee cannot be defined as a movement of resistance or struggle. It is a rather extemporaneous organization, without a political structure, which endeavours to keep the media attention alive on the Isochimica case. It does not operate as a conflictual subject and is therefore unconsciously affected by the strategies of the local discursive order.

Subalternity vs. hegemony in the development of science in Cuba after the Revolution.

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After the victory of the Revolution, in January 1959, Cuba had to face the challenge of *development*, being increasingly, and finally completely, embargoed by the United States. One of the leading programs of the revolutionary government was the development of higher education and scientific research. It is widely known the 1960 Fidel Castro's statement: «The future of our homeland must be, necessarily, a future of men of science».

The considerably high level reached by Cuba in several technical scientific fields, in particular biotechnology and medicine, is widely acknowledged. However, it is seldom known how this scientific development was reached. The most common, intuitive, idea is probably that it derived from the direct influence and guide of the Soviet Union, which was very advanced in many scientific fields.

However – although the contribution and support from the USSR played a unique and irreplaceable role (but not always, see later) – the whole story went in a quite different way: Cuba never was a definitely subaltern country. The development of its advanced scientific system shows fairly original features, with multiple influences, which constitute a peculiar case in the challenge for development of developing countries. No less important, also the purposes were original – that is to say, to steer the scientific choices towards the concrete social and economic needs of the country, with a wide involvement of the social actors – and this determined the trend and the outcomes. Note that Cuba at the beginning of the 1960s had barely 6 million inhabitants (at present almost doubled). The case study we have reconstructed in details is the development of Physics in Cuba: through intensive interviews, due to the lack of documents.

The level reached from physics in Cuba in the wake of the revolution was modest: it consisted in a certain number of good teachers, but modern physics was not taught, and no form of research activity was carried out.

Although Physics is not a dominating scientific field, it was conceived by the leadership and the scientific community as a basic discipline for any other scientific and technical field. An anticipatory assertion is recorded from Ernesto “Che” Guevara, that Cuba should point to the development of solid state electronic devices.

A turning point was the establishment in 1962 of the Reform of Higher Education, which promoted a wide reorganization, putting scientific research as a basic duty for the new university.

Since the beginning, students were actively involved in the process of renovation (they had been very active in the revolutionary struggle), and they directly supported the teaching activities (*alumnos ayudantes*, assistant students), making up for the shortage of trained teachers.

A very important collaboration, which was to have an enduring influence, started even before than Cuba decidedly entered into the Soviet orbit (although in 1960 “Che” had succeeded in sending to study in the USSR the first six students, which graduated in Physics and came back in 1966): from 1962 a number of “Western” physicists visited for different periods (even years) the School of Physics of the University of Havana, teaching courses of modern and solid state physics, establishing laboratories and workshops, and starting the early research activities. A certain number of Cuban physicists has studied, specialized, and collaborated, up to present days, with the University and the Italian Research Council (CNR) of Parma.

A lively discussion developed on what sectors were to be developed according to the basic needs of development of the country, involving the university staff, besides Italian and French physicists. The choice fell on Solid State Physics. French physicists in particular played an instrumental role, organizing between 1968-1973 advanced Summer Schools in Cuba, and introducing advanced materials and techniques, in which the Western Block was more advanced than the USSR.

Thus adopting the new silicon technology, Cuba reached in an astonishingly short period, since the first half of the 1970s, a good international level, in particular in Latin America, in the field of solid-state devices and microelectronics.

In the meantime, support from, and collaboration with the USSR gained strength and consolidated (huge quantities of Cuban scientists studied and specialized in the USSR), and played an instrumental role in the development of other fields, like Nuclear Physics, and in the final shape of the Cuban scientific system.

In such ways, the Cuban scientific system was boosted during the 1960s, reached a stable structure during the 1970s, and was further enlarged and strengthened in the 1980s, acquiring a level of development and soundness that allowed to resist to the tremendous impact of the collapse of the USSR.

One of our conclusions is that – although Physics at present has reached some sort of “standardization” all around the world – Cuban Physics, and scientific system have developed and kept some peculiar features of originality.

An analogous reconstruction of the development of Biotechnology in Cuba is only at an early stage of design, and it shows even more challenging features. In fact, the starting idea originated around 1982 from some Cuban doctors interested in the interferon. In less than two decades astonishing results were reached, which were not only *completely independent* from the USSR and then Russia, but mainly based on autonomous efforts, though with important international collaborations. Indeed, these Cuban pioneers received an early advice from an American biologist, and a basic collaboration with Finland (Prof. Kari Cantell), and France. Around mid 1980s the UN issued a notice for the construction of an international center of biotechnology in a developing country: Cuba competed but was excluded. The country decided therefore to *do it itself*. The result was the development of the Center of Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology, the biggest scientific center in the country, in which (unique case in the world) the whole cycle has been developed, from research, to test, production, quality control, and commercialization of biomedical products. Cuba owns several important patents, and the sector provides a relevant income in foreign currency.

Megaprojects of economic development, indigenous peoples and processes of prior consultation in Colombia.

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In Colombia, the new Constitution of 1991 and, in the same year, the ratification of ILO's Convention 169, drove a process of new recognition, juridical as well as political, of the indigenous and afro-descendants groups' cultural and territorial rights, that is currently underway.

At the same time, these groups have been especially affected both by the internal armed conflict and the current model of economic development in the country. This model is in fact characterized by the expansion of large-scale mining and big infrastructures building, and is supported by the Colombian State through policies aimed to facilitate and to increase the issues of licenses to transnational companies.

The recurring conflicts between the respect of indigenous (and afro-descendants) groups' territorial rights and the projects, undertaken by no-indigenous social actors, of economic exploitation of the resources existing in their territories are giving rise to situations, controversies and processes of great complexity, in which juridical and political issues intertwine with social, ethical and cultural ones.

In particular, the implementation and interpretation of the norms which prescribe the realization of a

prior, informed and free consultation with indigenous and afro-descendants peoples and communities before starting a project or a passing a law which can affect them have constituted in the last years a key field in which different claims and positions are debated and confronted.

Recent research on these contexts of tense relationship between the new recognition of indigenous and afro-descendant groups' territorial rights on one hand, and, on the other, the growth of projects and enterprises of economic exploitation of their territories, has pointed to the coexistence of two apparently contrasting trends. The first is the display of new forms of governance of territories and people, often associated with the neoliberal agenda, enacted by the State, international institutions and transnational companies. The second is the set of strategies by which indigenous and afro-descendant groups adapt their struggles for reaffirming and reconfiguring their right to autonomy and self-determination to the new hegemonic forms of legitimating claims both in the juridical domain and in the public opinion.

From both these perspectives, the capacity to master the expert knowledge relating to the legal domain of norms and procedures as well as the negotiations and the struggles for defining the kinds and sources of knowledge recognized as authoritative in administrative and judicial procedures have becoming two increasingly relevant components of these processes, which influence the ongoing reshaping of power relations and, particularly, the challenging or renewing the historical subalternity of indigenous and afro-descendants collectivities and cultures.

In my contribution, I want to explore some questions posed to anthropological and ethnographic research by the development of these new sceneries through an examination of some cases of international resonance: the effects and the legal controversy following the building of a big dam in the indigenous territory of the Embera Katío, the story of the mobilization against a megaproject of oil exploitation in the indigenous territory of the Uwa, and the reactions provoked by recent megaprojects of exploitation of big coal deposits in the territory of the Wayuu.

Hegemony at Work: An Ethnographic Study on Italian Betting Shops

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During the second half of the 19th century, and even more in the first decade of the 20th, gambling profoundly changed evolving from a forbidden affair into a «mainstream leisure activity» (Reith 2003, 14), legalized and sold on large scale under the control of national governments (McMillen 1996, 1). With a gross revenue of 87 billion euro in 2012 (Sisal 2013, 22) and an average per capita expenditure of 1,700 euro per adult (Iori 2012), Italy is the European country with the highest expenditure on gambling, and worldwide it ranks only after the USA and Japan. Moreover, the Italian normative model has become a landmark for many European countries.

Besides, gambling often attracts the interest of politics and of the mass media (in 2012, the two major national newspapers, *Corriere della Sera* and *La Repubblica* published respectively 130 and 420 articles on this topic). The debate about gambling entails several levels, from its fiscal revenues to its social dangerousness as an instrument of social inequality (Beckert and Lutter 2009) and the spread of gambling problems for people in conditions of poverty, unemployment, poor education, membership of ethnic minorities (Serpelloni 2013).

The object of this research is an ethnographic observation of gambling stores which aims at exploring the behaviour of subjects who populate them by relying on two main theoretical reference points: the de-politicization of gambling and the ideology of *alea* (Sallaz 2006, Geertz 1972, Young 2010, Volberg and Wray 2007, Goodman 2005).

The purpose is threefold. With regard to the relationship between gamblers and places, the research tries to understand how gamblers' subjectivity build (and is built by) gambling places. A second research question refers to the process of socialization: to what extent gambling places are socializing spaces? Last, and most important, this research faces the hegemony/subalternity dimension of the field of gambling: how is the power distributed in the field of gambling? Are

gamblers obeying the rules of a hegemonic model? And if so, do gamblers resist, and in which ways, to such a power (de Certeau 1990)? How do the mechanisms of the symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1998) in the relationship between producers of gambling and gamblers work?

In order to answer to these questions, a three-month ethnographic observation was conducted exploring 23 gambling places based in Milan's metropolitan area, including Bingos, bars, tobacco shops, slot rooms, special point of sales (e.g. WinCity), betting rooms. A team of four researchers (two men and two women) conducted the participant observation as gamblers, each time coupling in the most appropriate way depending on the observation place: considering, for example, the usual female target of Bingos, compared to the prevalent male target of betting shops.

If there is now a conspicuous literature analysing the economic dimension, as well as the medical dimension of legal gambling, there still is a lack of literature focused on the everyday life dimension of gamblers and their experiences (Maclure et al. 2006). Indeed, literature developed with a medical filter considers pathological gambling (Dickerson 1993) to be a form of addiction without substances, encouraging the adoption, also in sociology, of an epidemiological approach intended to identify numbers and characteristics of subjects exposed to the risk of ludomania (Dyall 2004; Wood and Williams 2007; Casey 2008; Stevens and Young 2010). While literature adopting a commercial filter suggests a vision of gambling as a market, part of the entertainment industry which expanded in the late twentieth century. In this sense, gambling became a «major economic force» (Reith 2003: 14) and a source of tax revenues (Eadington 1999, Murphy and Nagel 2002, Beckert and Lutter 2009).

From the ethnographic perspective, after the seminal study of Clifford Geertz (1972) on the Balinese cockfight, new insights for the comprehension of gambling were offered, just to mention few important works, by Jeffrey Sallaz (2006) who explored casinos in the post-colonial South Africa, by Joan Allen (2006) with an inquiry on horse betters, by Maclure et al. (2006) with their ethnography of female Bingo players, and by the auto-ethnography of David Hayano (1982) as a professional card player.

Nonetheless, what is still lacking is a more detailed analysis of gamblers' biographies and practices, something that requires a new approach of research and interpretation able to go beyond the economic or functionalist readings. This purpose can be achieved with a wider theory of the practice which focuses on the Bourdieusian interlinked concepts of habitus, capital and field. With regard to such a need to explore gamblers' subjectivities as shown in gambling practices, the analysis of collected information will focus on three main points.

First, the relation between gamblers and places. Here we will discuss how places belong to the everyday life of gamblers and city users, together with the dichotomies that characterize the betting shops, such as order/disorder, freedom/constraint, natural/artificial, noise/silence, mobility/stability. Second, we will show that the process of socialization is far from being complete. Third, the hegemonic dimension of gambling, particularly observable through the «really inferior» (Nibert 2006) categories such as women, young persons, immigrants. Hegemony will be discussed as a general process through which gamblers are lowered from the status of political actors to that of merely economic actors, as a consequences of the neoliberal policies expanding the market of legal gambling. At the same time, we will consider how far those same gambling places where hegemony is at work, can give space to resistant practices, like the construction of social relationships. No less important is to underline the unequal distribution of resources between the State and the public concessionaires, on the one side, and the gamblers on the other, as well as the rising characterization of the latter as subordinate agents and victims of the ideology of *alea* within a mechanism of symbolic violence.

Relations of hegemony and subalternity in the football world

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This research comes from the possibility that the author has had to attend the Serie B -Italian Professional Football League- in a Transparency International research co-funded by the EU on the

issue of match-fixing in Italy.

The survey used both qualitative and quantitative methodology. In particular, structured questionnaires were hand out to the entire universe of the Serie B (players, staff and managers) and semi-structured questionnaires were hand out to a sample of players, managers and opinion leaders. Parallel to this investigation the author has had the opportunity to attend as an external observer informational and training meetings organized by the institutions involved in the project.

By the results it can be seen that there is a distinct difference between players and management. Players are characterized, as well as by a young age, by low levels of literacy and interest of updating. Management, on the other hand, are characterized by, beyond a big experience due to age, a high degree of education and continuous search for personal and professional update.

Despite the high income of the players, which often exceeds that of the leadership itself, the players do not seem to be aware of the enormous power that their position might have, as key players as leading actors of sporting events. The difference in level of knowledge and awareness, then, generates asymmetrical relations between players and management and in the players hasn't been observed instances of self-determination and emancipation claimed. The players live in a constant position of "subalternity" very often "flattened" on their reference figures: family, attorneys, coaches, managers. There isn't a form of rebellion and, on the contrary, there is acceptance of the situation by the subaltern that implicitly recognizes himself as missing and relies on experts in a kind of externalization of responsibility.

In addition, there is great uncertainty in planning their future career. This leads to a tendency in crystallizing the relationship between hegemonic and subaltern. There is no trace of direct contrast between players and institutions, and also the potential for future transformation of these dynamics are low and in any case entrusted to the leadership of organizations.

La ricerca nasce dalla possibilità che l'autrice ha avuto di frequentare il secondo livello per importanza del calcio professionistico italiano all'interno di una ricerca cofinanziata dall'UE sul problema del match-fixing in Italia. L'indagine si è avvalsa dell'utilizzo di strumenti quali-quantitativi. In particolare questionari strutturati sono stati somministrati all'intero universo della serie B (calciatori e dirigenti), questionari semi-strutturati sono stati somministrati a un campione di calciatori e dirigenti e ad opinion leader del settore. Parallelamente a quest'indagine l'autrice ha avuto modo di frequentare da osservatrice esterna incontri di natura informativa/formativa organizzati dalle istituzioni impegnate nel progetto.

Già dai risultati emersi si può notare come si possa rilevare una netta differenza tra giocatori e dirigenza in termini di conoscenza tra calciatori, caratterizzati, oltre che da una giovane età, da un basso grado di alfabetizzazione e di interesse di aggiornamento, e la dirigenza, che all'esperienza dovuta all'età aggiunge un alto grado di formazione scolastica e continua ricerca di informazione personale. Nonostante l'elevato reddito dei ragazzi, che spesso supera quello della dirigenza stessa, i giocatori non sembrano consapevoli dell'enorme potere che la loro posizione potrebbe avere, in quanto protagonisti in prima persona degli eventi sportivi.

Il dislivello di conoscenza e consapevolezza quindi, genera relazioni asimmetriche e nei giocatori non si ritrovano istanze di autodeterminazione ed emancipazione rivendicate. Le posizioni dei giocatori, che vivono in una continua posizione di "subalternità" molto spesso sono "appiattite" sulle loro figure di riferimento: famiglia, procuratori, allenatori, dirigenti.

C'è una forma di non ribellione e di accettazione della situazione da parte del subalterno che implicitamente si riconosce mancante e si affida a chi ritiene esperto con una sorta di esternalizzazione delle responsabilità. Inoltre si riscontra grande incertezza nella pianificazione del loro futuro professionale. Ciò porta ad una tendenza alla cristallizzazione dei rapporti tra subalterni ed egemoni. Inoltre non si riscontra traccia di contrasto diretto tra calciatori e istituzioni calcistiche, quindi anche le potenzialità di trasformazione futura di tali dinamiche sono basse e comunque affidate ai vertici delle organizzazioni.

IT'S A FREE WORK... WHEN WORK RELATIONS BECOME PASSIONATE

Convenors:

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IT'S A FREE WORK I

Friday 6th 16.00-19.00 – 4 P

Female, free and precarious: work and gender among young Italian feminists

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The research discussed will be centered around female knowledge workers in Italian academia.

Young women who are politically aware of exploitative forms of work and yet continue to work in universities or other cultural institutions for symbolic salaries. They are highly aware of the theories and political uses of the term *precarity*, and consider it a organizing principle for articulating conditions of work, life politics and creativity, especially connected to the social movements emerging a decade ago (*Precarious May Day*). Today, in the specific contexts of Italy, and similarly in Spain and Greece, this generation had a unique, direct experience of major economic crises. gives this generation a new paradoxical reading of their free work. Listening firstly to the young women's experience, and not simply focusing on macroscopic data and economic indicators means paying close attention to their specific cases and stories, and yet, on a meso-level, drawing comparisons that are useful sociologically to map out the extent of the generational skill waste created by the current crisis across Italy.

The essay presents an auto-ethnographic project carried out by analysing postings on two networks of third wave gender activists in Italy via on-line discussion forum and yearly meetings, during the last six years. Analysing such exchanges ethnographically, offers the opportunity to connect general arguments about creative economies, creativity and collectivity (Terranova ; Bifo) with individual trajectories, where passion for intellectual work translate in concrete life choices and individual trajectories, full of mistakes, hopes and frustrations. The main goal of this essay is to connect emerging issues among the young gender and feminist activists, from below, connecting them with feminist debates on precarious labor in contemporary post-industrial societies, on a more theoretical level (Morini, Lazzarato, Virno). How do the young women make sense of their condition in which life and work overlap? How do they construct meaningful lives in the context of precarity and economic instabilities?

What does precarity do to young people in terms of the spaces of their political subjectivities? Young Italian feminist have been discussing the effects of such precarity on their generation for a decade now. Drawing from such auto-ethnographic materials, this essay argues that passions and exploitative forms of free, flexible labor are difficult to untangle for the younger generations. While young women are the majority of university students and they have only been in the workforce for three generations, their desire to participate in the economy, in politics and in the social realm is strong. These passions encounter deep obstacles, deriving from an unusual mix of ruthless post-industrial capitalism, where workers are replaceable and disposable, and, pre-industrial mechanisms of functioning of Italian society (closed to innovation, gerontocratic, heavily gender-biased). Their work and contribution to society is taken for granted, their bodies and presence in institutions made invisible, because considered valueless and freely available. Caught in this paradox of being free to

work for nothing, and yet do some sort of rewarding, innovative form of work, third wave feminists mobilize their political and affective beliefs to make sense of the role of work in their lives.

On the one hand, various feminist groups do reject and criticize the security that their mothers had, because it implied a stable life, made of marriage, family, and a number of responsibilities both in the house and in the workplace, with which came little recognition. On the other, they are sharply aware of the fact that free labor is part of their lives and make it impossible to develop fully into adulthood. In doing so, this new wave of feminism has destabilized the universalism assumed by the 1970s generation of feminists, discussing economic autonomy and paid house work. Both demands that simply do not fit in the contemporary paradoxes of creative and affective labor. By pointing to a necessary generational change, younger feminists have been able to mark their own specificity and point to exploitative power dynamics within feminist groups, as well as in the family and in the workplace without being dismissed.

The only realization connecting the two generations is related to the infinite amount of shifts of work, and the awareness of being underpaid (Hochschild, Balbo, Leccardi). In a such a layered context, many *young* feminists argue that precariousness is a life condition that will not go away with legal changes or traditional union battles. The relationship of young feminist groups with lefty unions have not been easy, and entering current debates on cognitive capitalism, creative work and precariousness has proved more useful, in fostering a connection with the larger Italian labour movement in the late 2000s. Such small victories in terms of symbolic recognition of issues of exploitation and invisibility have wained in the light of contemporary financial crises that hit so hard Southern European economies, impacting so dramatically the employment opportunities of young people

The discussion fora and literature produced by young feminists addresses also the current strategies to make 'their' precarious life more sustainable. It has become clear that precarity is not only a gender and generational issue, but a generalized phenomena here to stay. In the wake of the non-generational aspect of precarity, young women has changed their strategies, either embracing free cognitive labor more passionately or rejecting it more bitterly, going back to a clear distinction between family life and a paid occupation. The essay will explore these two reactions, as they present adaptation strategies, crossed by class and geographical differences. Looking at these patterns, it is clear that this generational stifled social mobility requires new strategies and tools for struggle, considering not only the issue of class, but also the social invisibility of young women in Italian institutions.

This essay concludes that the younger generation experiences forms of instability (freedom to/freedom from) that require rethinking strategies and tools for struggle in terms of gender, and, most importantly, new affective forms of solidarity across gender, ethnicity, class, age and racialized precarious groups are needed. Female precariousness appears as a fruitful starting point for a dialogue across differences, addressing gender and reproduction, immigration, work and social welfare at the same time to redefine what freedom means.

Production studies represent a well-established interdisciplinary approach to the cultural studies of media industries (Mayer, Banks & Caldwell 2009). Within this approach, television (Ursell 1998; 2000; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2008), print media (Terranova 2000; McRobbie 2002; Storey, Salaman and Platman 2005; Henninger and Gottschall 2007), the music industry (Hesmondhalgh 1996) and the digital game industry (Kucklick 2005) have been considered and dissected extensively. On the contrary, radio production cultures and practices have been substantially underinvestigated, although radio still represents one of the most important mass media in the western world, and its audiences are growing in each of the BRICS nations (OfCom 2011).

Invisible workers of the Invisible medium. An ethnographic approach to Italian public and private radio freelance producers

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Public service media (television and radio) in Europe employ thousands of workers (around 18,000 in the UK, 12,000 in Italy, 15,000 in France) (EBU, 2012). However, nonstandard forms of employment within this sector quickly emerged as common practice. Over the last few decades, employment in the radio sector has become increasingly fragmented and insecure. This is due to the combination of the global economic crisis, the rise of digital media, and transformations at the level of the political economy of traditional media. In the last decade, European Public Service Media have faced an increasing amount of budget cuts, together with a constant decrease in advertising revenues (EBU, 2011). Meanwhile, thousands of communications and humanities graduates dreaming of entering the world of creative industries, radio included, encounter frequently unfulfilled expectations of employment as they access this labor market. This young and overskilled labor force represents, in Marxian terms, a huge “reserve labor army” that is undergoing a new and unprecedented form of exploitation and polarization of work (Grugulis & Stoyanova 2011, 2012).

The aim of this paper is to investigate the experiences and emotional responses of interviewees to their working conditions in the Italian cultural radio industry. Via in-depth interviews with a wide range of precarious and freelance workers of four Italian national radio stations, it explores working conditions and experiences with insecurity, uncertainty, socializing, networking and isolation.

Are there any differences between precarious and freelance workers in the public service and those contracted with a private station? What kinds of roles do they have in the daily production flows of the two radio stations? What happens when someone is made redundant? Is the precarious status of their work affecting their everyday life? How do they cope with it? Can they rely on bonding social capital when they have to face the interruption of their contract? Are they able to plan a future for themselves or do they live “stranded” in the present? How do they perceive themselves, as isolated or networked? Do they feel like competitors against each other for the few extended-time job positions periodically available, or fellows in unfair conditions? What kinds of practices have they learnt in order to raise their reputational capital (Arvidsson, 2012) in order to obtain a better-paid position in their labor market?

This study will try to answer these questions, grounding itself within critical approaches of creative and cultural industries (Ursell 2000; Paterson 2001; McRobbie 2002; Huws 2006; Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2008; 2013). It will be based on an ethnographic investigation – a mix of in-depth interviews and participant observation – of work practices within the radio production industry, undertaken over an extended period of time (between November 2013 and March 2014).

In this sense, Italy can be considered a classic example both in terms of employment conditions, with fragmentation being highly significant across creative industries, and production and organization. The Italian radio sector has followed the same declining path as that of the European sector, and has had to cope with a decrease in advertising revenues similar to the one that has affected television and the print media industry. As a consequence, both business models and employment strategies have been affected by downsizing, and resorting to nonstandard forms of contracting and freelancing is particularly common.

Emotional work in journalism and editing. Narratives from a co-research

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Journalism and the editing industry are usually associated with creative freelance work, high qualifications and autonomy as well as an important social role and status. This article aims at

investigating the relation between passion and precarisation in this particular field of cognitive labour. The focus lies on workers' experiences of precarisation and growing insecurity (Castel, 2004) as they result not only from instable employment relations, but also from changes in work processes and professional identities. We want to understand the role played by strong intrinsic job motivations for workers' daily practices of coping with such precarisation.

The theoretical framework used for this purpose is the concept of biopolitics (Codeluppi, 2008; Amendola-Bazzicalupo-Chicchi-Tucci, 2008; Morini, 2010) as it highlights the importance of workers' subjective capacities in managing social relations, communication and emotions for today's production processes. (Hochschild, 1979; 1983/2006; Folbre, 2000; 2006; Carls, 2007; Morini, 2010; Bolton, Grugulia, Vincent, Leidner, 2010). The empirical investigation takes the form of a co-research (Alquati, 1993). In methodological terms, it relies on a qualitative interviewing approach with two focus groups including 11 journalists and editorial workers from various big journals and publishing houses in Milan (Italy) who, in part, are organised in the network of precarious editorial workers (www.rerepre.org; Zambelli, 2013). Narratives are a fundamental element of this analysis (Riesmann, 1993) which insists on everyday working experiences as well as employment biographies. Narratives are used as an instrument to assess workers' sense constructions in face of changing labour requirements, in particular growing insecurity and reducing autonomy in the work process.

Outcomes are ambiguous, highlighting practices of self-exploitation sustained by a peculiar mix of passion and fear, practices of frustrated and individualised emotional withdrawal from work, as well as new lines of conflict and collective mobilisation.

Results highlight current changes in labour control, particularly the interaction between various forms of indirect control and subjectivation, and a simultaneous re-strengthening of hierarchies and direct supervision. Together, these strategies produce current forms of (self-)exploitation of workers' cognitive capacities, and a mechanism of blackmailing which is at the heart of precarisation (Murgia, Poggio, 2012). On the one hand, the new forms of control directly involve workers' subjectivities, their acting and thinking (Armano 2010, Salecl 2011), and thus make them co-perpetrators of their own exploitation. But, on the other hand, they also provoke new lines of conflict which particularly result from the continuous frustration of workers' aspirations in employment stabilisation, work satisfaction and professional growth. Regarding actual coping practices, relevant differences emerge between different generations of editorial workers, reflecting diverse degrees of experienced precarisation as well as diverging professional identities and employment biographies. Among the older journalists with open-ended contracts an individualised, frustrated withdrawing from work is dominant. Most of their younger colleagues, instead, (still) try to compensate experiences of continuous precarisation with a strong belief in own professional capacities and the hope for a better future. However, also some attempts of collective organising are undertaken, particularly by some younger, precarious editorial workers. For all these different coping practices, workers' passion for their work plays a central role in stabilising work place consent, but also as a potential field of collective mobilisation. Alongside relevant differences in their current employment positions as well as their work biographies, the differences in coping practices between these editorial workers and the two subgroups of permanently and temporary employed journalists above all seem to depend on how workers relate and emotionally position themselves with respect to their work. In regard to the subjectivity of cognitive labour, our co-research among editorial workers and journalists has brought to the fore how the relation between workers and their object of work is modulated by emotions and passions, and how the resulting imaginaries play a central role in the social construction of reality and practices through which the meaning of precariousness and creativity is redefined. This regards the way in which workers identify with their work, what kind of individual and/or collective imaginaries they derive from these identities, and especially how they make sense of daily experienced conflicts and contradiction. The crucial aspect appears to be the degree to which workers render these conflicts invisible or visible within their common sense, whether they rather try to smoothen or to name and address conflicts (at least at the level of meaning constructions), and, last but not least, whether they

manage to develop the necessary collective agency potential to face them.

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Networking, it's a free work

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Working in front of a PC, in a bureau, at home, in a University room, or anywhere else and risking to loose one's self is more and more recurring for those cognitive workers who try to be passionate with their own work. A lot of activities cognitive workers usually do is free.

Free work of cognitive workers can be differentiated in different activities. Some of them are about professional networking. Our contribution is focused on the professional networking activities in the field of science and knowledge. It is aimed to understand:

- a) the kinds of activities cognitive workers design and conduct in professional networking;
 - b) if this networking has professional and self-promotion objectives and eventually how it is carried out;
 - c) if this networking also generates collective action and/or solidarity initiatives and eventually how.
- Our research has involved some fixed term contracts and open ended contracts workers of Pisa University spinoff enterprises. Method is mainly autobiographical. Hypotheses about the potential of self-narration in the field of work studies will be proposed.

How to become an architect or artist? A comparative ethnography on the Swiss University Landscape

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In this paper we would like to discuss the concept of freedom such as it appears to articulate in the fields of art and architecture, and more precisely in an educational context. Our presentation will

treat a data collection extracted from ongoing field-notes ethnography (Emerson et al 1995) in two separate art and architecture Universities in Switzerland. This work is part of a study aiming to understand the modalities of becoming an architect or artist. Our interest in the themes of freedom and their articulation in these two particular fields is for us, both methodological (Cefaï 2010) and analytical. As far as the former is concerned, we discovered these questions as being present in both fields and being enrolled in the everyday students' actions and practices (Knorr Cetina 2002). Articulated in very different ways, we found them as relevant concepts that were entangled in the students' way of living; they were part of what it means to be an artist/architect and their configuration depends very much upon the very definition of the latter. The educational context is particularly interesting to interrogate these notions as the students are accompanied, counseled and directed by professors and mentors. We propose to see how do the students discover the phenomenon of freedom in their Universities and how do they integrate it as a part of their identity. On the other hand, these fields present very different socio-economical characteristics. While architecture is considered to be one of the most prestigious work- occupations, offering good chances for a successful carrier and presenting, at the least, well-paid job opportunities, the arts shift at the very end of the opposite side where being able to live on one's solely work is a luxury reserved to the happy few. The phenomenon of freedom is articulated differently according to the contexts. Our paper will treat the theme of freedom through ethnographical examples and aim to show the variety and dynamics of their dimensions while students discover and embody their professions. In fact, in both fields, it appears that the notion of freedom is related to, what might be called a life-engaging character of these two creative professions. For the students as well as other active actors in the field this means that being an architect or an artist is not so much a matter of acquiring a profession, but rather about engaging one's whole life to it: one's whole person, their doings, thinking, their ways of looking, their leisure time, ways of relating to other people, appear to translate little by little into the trade. Within this context, the notion of freedom consists in acquiring, during one's education and later, something that will make the difference between a usual professional and a real architect/artist and that no one will ever be able to give to them, something that is priceless and cannot be calculated. For the architects, it is about acquiring a gaze (Cuff 1991), developing an eye that is free of others' judgments, an original and individual way of looking at the world that will accompany them for life. Coming to this point means for young architects to put all their chances on their side. This includes spending sometimes their nights at the University's atelier, working on their projects (Heintz et al). Such situations, though common, are on one hand enjoyed and celebrated collectively but on the other hand mean that a lot of students drop out of the schools because they cannot or don't want to deal with the very high pressure. The wages not being an issue in their profession, their ideal would be to become a "star" architect. How do the students arrive to such a comprehension of how they should stand in regard to their work? How is the notion of freedom articulated in the relations between students and professors who are often "star" architects? How can a particular conception of freedom be understood in regard to the professional perspectives that stand ahead for the architects? For the artists, it is about gaining a growing autonomy (Esquivel 2008), a capacity to create in an original fashion, as well as to stand for one's work. Their trade appears to be an inner call that invests them with the desire and necessity to create. Inner freedom constitutes the very condition to art-activity. It drives the artist to his/her artwork and the accomplishment of the latter increases the artist's capacity for freedom. Our paper will seek to answer the following questions: How do the students come to articulate the necessity of creating for them and others? How do they encounter such problematics and how do the latter become relevant for them? How does the phenomenon of freedom articulate in their daily activity? Finally, what happens when such inner freedom seems sometimes to be lacking? How do the students go through difficult situations? How do the economical perspectives affect the students' regard to their work?

Passionate work. Characteristics and ambivalences of the digital work, between high passion and low pay

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The paradigm of *free labor* (Terranova, 2000) has settled into everyday life and into the processes and practices of digital framework, characterized by (re)production of neoliberal subjectivities. In the informational capitalism, a typical form of work is the set of voluntary and free activities carried out via the Internet, through an ambivalent and spontaneous cooperation of knowledge: people are engaged in producing texts, ideas, images, contents, but also relations, affections and identities.

Through an approach of *cyber-ethnography* (Teli et al., 2007), we have conducted qualitative interviews. Respondents were the so-called *wwwworkers* (blogger, digital marketing strategist and social media manager), who have critically reported and analyzed their career.

The research aims to collect experiences of highly skilled people, engaged in online work activities, but exposed to the processes of precarious subjectivation. For these subjects the act of "produce" has been narrated as a social and collaborative activity full of sense and emotions (Benski, Fisher, 2013; Risi, 2012).

As clearly emerges in the interviews, the investment in terms of passion ("love of their work"), involvement and realization of own creativity (Armano, Murgia, 2012) is both intense and problematic, against the fusion of personal relations with work relations (Nicoli, 2012). The melting process is always countered by a desire to assert themselves: hence seems to emerge the characteristic of *passionate work*, in the dual sense of passion, that is then connected to a suffering. These forms of work are incorporated in the daily and private use practices of the Web, and combine skills and competences that is often not formally recognized and therefore not remunerated.

This encroachment is perceived by people in ambivalent way: on the one hand it emerges as a phenomenon of "capture" of the passion, emotions and human relations which exceed the labor relations; on the other hand, it seems to active online relational and communicative dynamics that are considered important as spaces of mutual recognition and self-representation (Mattoni, 2012).

In the statements collected, the low or no remuneration (in monetary terms) is attributed to two different universes of meaning .

On the one side, the investment, namely a return (not merely economic) that covering other areas of value creation such as objectification of their creativity, building relationships, creating innovation, etc. The research participants have highlighted the presence of a value of tie which seems to compensate for the economic loss: people seem more willing to work free through the Internet, because online "you do not feel never really alone" (Turkle, 2012). It is thus clear the relevance of the potential and possibilities of sharing in networks ego-centered, with an immediate 'bios' value (Chicchi, 2005).

There are new forms of reward, supporting the spread of economic models based on non-monetary expectations (for example the recognition or visibility) and returns to a collective level (rather than individual): there is then a condition which focuses on the empathic identification and on the promise of stability perspectives. An expectation of a future paid work that often do not come true. The "remuneration" becomes the assigned social identity, a status gained thanks to a widespread peer assessment through publicly available information (Arvidsson, Giordano, 2013): the online reputation is the currency of exchange, preferred and preferable (Formenti, 2012).

The web seems a place of social practices in which the work is in standalone form with respect to its modern assumption that is to be always connected to the salary (Gorz, 1994).

On the other side, however, the respondents highlight the (perceived) presence of issues related to the exploitation, as stated in the digital capitalism literature (Fuchs, 2010).

Data collected shows the awareness of atomization forms and interdiction of work (from the 'threat' of unemployment to unpaid collaborations) and some reaction attempts by building social networks in which to participate as subjects and not as hostages of digital work.

People put emphasis on the value of the generation of sociality and relational or affective attributes:

these aspects pointed out the strong connection between voluntariness, spontaneity and passion and refer to the theme of the inevitability of job, as work spontaneously offered, that concerns aspects of the (neo)liberal utopia. We can recognize here the underlying ideological rhetoric that through the promise of change and social improvement, relies on feelings of collective participation, civil society and civic consciousness (used in the storytelling aspects about new media).

In the transition from a "formal" to a "real" subsumption of the digital labor, the production of profit by the firm relies heavily on working relationships that are full of passion and voluntariness, depriving and expropriating them of their emotional and relational charge.

The finding suggests the increasing commodification of subjectivity and labor (Chicchi, 2005) and the marketization of the subjectivities takes place in a sort of self-constraint of the workers who don't seem to have alternatives. The gradual extension of informal work and the boom of free online job thus appear as processes of resilience, a sort of collective (not institutionalized) strategies of resistance from the extension of the (tangible and intangible) exploitation of work in the cognitive late-capitalist economy (Magatti, 2009).

The results of this research, far from being exhaustive, have been able to show such contingent aspects that are part of a relatively new debate - tangential to the issues of the knowledge work – and require further development

IT'S A FREE WORK II.

Saturday 7th 9.00-12.00 – 4 P

The collective regulation of passion and investment of SMAC's workers

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SMAC ("*Scènes de Musiques Actuelles*", Today's Music on stage) are concert halls labeled since 1998 by the Ministry of Culture for music ranging from jazz to Rock, Reggae, Hip-Hop, etc. In France about 130 SMAC exist today. Before the making of this label, this kind of activity was not considered as cultural action, but only as socio-educative action for young. These structures work with paid workers of different kinds of occupation (scene or studio manager, artistic director, multimedia and communication, etc.) and benevolent peoples. Workers and management are militants of cultural education and often musician or have worked with musicians. They want to promote young music bands, music practices and musical culture (frequently with the will of legitimizing today's music as classical music is) with new publics (high school pupils, people who are not used to assist concerts, etc.). They also try to connect professional musicians with less experienced ones and give them technical advices in order to help young musicians to improve themselves.

In this research in progress, I have studied three SMAC (observations and interviews) located in the Parisian suburbs. The common traits of all these SMAC is the high degree of passion at work expressed by workers. These workers do long hours of work for a salary lower than the one they could earn in another type of job and their leisure largely confound with their work. They assume that their job is source of pleasure and that they are lucky to earn money by doing what they like to do. Most of them have done benevolent work or quasi-benevolent work (for instance during their military service, "*objecteur de conscience*" means before 1995 two year of civil service instead of one year of military, or in a welfare contract, "*contrat aidé*") before reaching a paid work. They very often use the word passion to describe their work. There are generally no trade unions and most of workers, despite being politically close to left wing parties, show an anti-union ideology concerning their own situation. Relations with management are very close and based on affective or charismatic links.

But, behind this common picture, differences appear. In some SMACS, complaints of stress, health problems that workers link to work (burn out, cardiovascular or dermatologic illnesses), high level

of turn over for some jobs and conflict among workers are frequent. Workers have an ambivalent discourse about passion which is seen as a good and, in the same time, a dangerous thing because of over-commitment and emotional dependency risks. In other SMACS, at the opposite, workers seem to experience their high engagement in a more pleasant way and passion is not seen as a potential problem.

The size of the SMAC, the weak or strong level of agreement among workers (and benevolent peoples) about the kind of music bands and socio-cultural action one should promote, the status (association, public service, private enterprise, etc.) of the SMAC, the generation gap in some structures, may explain these differences. The collective ability to regulate and manage passion and commitment at work is an important variable. In SMAC where there is no agreement about the kind of actions and music that should be favored, workers have difficulties to find limits for involvement at work. They tend to think they do not make enough work and are always willing to develop new initiatives, new activities in order to prove themselves and to others they do good work. Some SMAC's workers may feel guilty not to work enough or to have insufficient results because they are paid with public money to do what they love to do and what they have done before for free.

The lack of common criteria about what is a "good work" leads to attach too much importance to quantitative standards (for instance, the average number of paid spectators at concerts), in contradiction with the cultural, social and educative mission. One can evoke some sort of "subjective precariousness" (as Danièle Linhart defined it) not due primarily to the fear of losing one's job, but linked with the transformation of work into an individual challenge, where each individual is caught up in a solitary quest for meaning and values. In SMAC, this situation is not created by management choices or forms of work evaluation, but by the lack of legitimacy and cohesiveness of goals in a context of new public management. Each expense (public grants and subventions) has to prove its efficiency and social usefulness in a quantitative and measurable way.

This hypothesis is congruent with other researches I have conducted on social construction of stress at work, collective coping or collective repertoires of action among various occupations (nurses, police officers and diplomats) strongly attached to their work and engaged in their job. The lack of collectively shared values and goals (which means a lack of meaning and recognition at work) explain why difficulties are hardly managed and overwork or burn out are not regulated.

Reputation as a technical asset: a digital ethnography of digital natives on Twitter

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We present here a case-study on practices of self-branding among digital natives on Twitter, which we studied through a digital ethnography (Caliandro 2014). Observing the interactions of digital natives on Twitter can be seen the emerging of an idealtypical form of sociality, particularly widespread onto the social media: the reputation economy (Arvidsson e Peitersen 2013). Such reputation economy is grounded on specific practices of self branding. According to Marwick and boyd (2010) the practices of self-branding acted on social media transform the *Self* into an object which becomes publicly and technically communicable. Starting from the observations of the reputational games acted by teenagers on Twitter we show how reputation can be deemed a *technical* asset, rather than a *charismatic* one, that is a capital that actors gain thanks to their ability to technically manipulate the web and its crowds.

Through this investigation we try to give a substantial contribution to different sociological issues: 1) *digital natives*: re-framing of the term; b) *reputation economy*: defining the practices of self-branding sustaining the economy of reputation c) *methodology*: reflecting upon opportunities and constraints of conducting an ethnography within a digital environment. Following we briefly discuss those three aspects.

Digital Natives

The term *digital natives*, coined by Mark Prensky in 2001, indicates a new generation of young people who are high technologically literate and engaged. This notion has been strongly criticized (Bennett 2012), since it doesn't take into account the social dimension, that is how class, gender, race, educational context foster different degrees of technological literacy and engagement among young people. Besides these critiques, we would like to re-frame the notion of digital natives, maintaining that teens who stay and interact daily and intensively on social media, become accustomed to a culture of self-branding and skilled in practices of self-branding. In this way, teens on social media are *natives* of an emergent economical form: the reputation economy – a form strictly related and depended from social media and digital tool for measuring, materialize, and quantify social capital.

Economy of reputation and self-branding

The current literature frames reputation as a matter of charisma (Heckscher, Adler 2006), and, consequently, as a feature sustained by practices of self-branding that reinforce such personal characteristic. Particularly, in the article “*I Tweet Honestly, I Tweet Passionately*” (2010) Marwick and boyd maintain that, in order to act an effective strategy of self-branding on Twitter, one has to present oneself as authentic. To retain an authentic voice users have to avoid instrumental and marketing-like strategies of self-promotion. Also Ruth Page in “*The linguistic self-branding and micro-celebrity in Twitter: The role of hashtags*” (2012), makes a similar argument. She shows as (in most cases) the practices of self-branding on Twitter tend to be nuanced and not explicit. Particularly she makes the example of #FF, which is the abbreviation of Follow Friday, “a weekly practice whereby Twitter members promote to their follower list of the user names to other members that are deemed worthy of interest. [...] But while FF practice appears in part altruistic and participatory, it also manifest subtle forms of self-branding, insofar as it enables the recommending updater to establish their position as an expert who differentiates the hierarchies of perceived value in Twitter” (Page 2012: 189).

Differently, among teens on Twitter, we observed exactly the opposite dynamic. Specifically teens seem to not be concerned with issues of *authenticity* – as framed above. Actually their main practices of self-branding consist in: a) manipulation of hashtags in order to create trending topics; b) massive use of RT; c) explicit requests of following, rating, visualizations, likes, etc. (eg. RT @drewsuprator: #rt seguimi e ti seguo e ti voto il profilo in : brutto ?? carino ??? bello ????? bellissimo ?????? perfetto xI).

Methodology

Our investigation consisted in a digital ethnography. By digital ethnography we mean an ethnographic approach grounded on *Digital Methods* (Rogers 2009), rather than an ethnography deployed on the Internet *tout court* (Caliandro e Arvidsson 2013). Digital methods take the nature and affordances of the digital environment seriously. Such *online groundedness* entails *following the medium*, that is, following how digital devices like search engines and social media platforms, and functions like Instagram's tags or Twitter's retweets, structure flows of information and communication; it entails embracing the natural logic the Internet applies to itself in gathering, ordering and analyzing data. Our ethnographic inquiry was well grounded on Digital Methods in the sense that we studied both the ways in which Twitter shaped the activities of digital natives and the uses digital natives made of Twitter and their functions. In doing so we tried to unearth the *webs of significance* that structure the interactions of teens online (Geertz 1988). Specifically our methodology deployed as follows.

First we intercepted the flux of communication of digital natives on Twitter following for five days the top trends related to teenage topics (e.g. #onedirection). In this way we obtained a dataset of 111075 tweet. From this dataset we extracted the 10 most influential teens, measuring, through a network analysis, their in-degree of mentions and retweet. After that we selected the 5 most influential teens and we followed them for others five days (Marcus 1995), observing all their digital activities and interactions. We conducted this kind of ethnography using the technique of Twitter streaming APIs, which, in some sense, is akin to the traditional ethnographic technique of *shadowing* (Gobo 2001).

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Digital culture on the job

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The paper intends to present the final results of an empirical national research (Italy), dedicated to the study of creative professionals in digital media-oriented sectors: videomaking, animation, web / mobile apps, visual and graphic design.

The setting of the research and the theoretical framework within which it is placed crosses the Communication and Media Studies with the Sociology of Work. In this research, job analysis and dynamics of work embodied in the biographies of professionals is analyzed from a culturological point of view.

Places and flows, local materiality and global networks, *Do it yourself* culture, self-employment, culture of sharing and participation, decentralized forms of exploratory learning and mutual adaptations are just some of the forms and dynamics of the complex territory of digital culture that impact on work culture.

The empirical research was conducted through a semi-structured questionnaire (CAWI) and in-depth interviews (data collection from September 2013 to March 2014). The objective of the research is to study the dynamics of professional biographies in digital creativity sectors. In particular, the analysis dimensions are: socio-cultural profiles, needs and expectations, *modus operandi* (digital "making"), professions and self-entrepreneurship, perception of the crisis.

Here are some key concepts (chosen according to some findings of the research) on which the paper intends to focus a critical eye.

1. Self-learning

Importance of self-learning strategies in professional careers. The digital creative professions are based on specific knowledge and skills acquired in formal learning paths but, at the same time, they constantly need informal learning paths (peer to peer, self-learning).

2. Team work

The digital projects are more and more based on the complexity, due to the convergence and transmediality that modify the production chain of media products. The complexity requires trans-sectors ability and interdisciplinary skills, usually put in place by the cooperation of specialists, project-based work teams, regulated by informal labor relationships.

3. Fablab model

One of the distinctive features of the creative digital professions is the centrality of authorship and practice in the workplace.

These professionals consider the practice (made of trial, error, remakes) as important as the design: the design of project is closely related to its realization by the manipulation of "raw material", image, sound, color.

The paper proposes a specific focus on the new digital artisans (*makers*), and their model of practice that is embodied in the laboratories called *Fablab* (Fabrication laboratory).

4. Flexibility in action: professional reasons.

The majority of professionals consider the "flexibility" one of the aspects, and motivations, essential in their work. Flexibility means: lack of repeatability in professional activities and in products (high product customization), possibility/ability to manage changes and new situations.

The question that remains critical is the relationship between "creative" flexibility positively perceived, and "insecure" flexibility, linked to frustrations and failures.

5. Digital shadows

The difficulties experienced by most digital professionals are linked to the market crisis. Structural crisis of the media, few job offers, low-paid work, are the difficulties reported by our sample.

In addition, professionals report a frustration caused by "a chronic lack of acknowledgement from the surrounding world" (a difficulty which we may define as one of a symbolic order). The society in which they live and work does not recognize their profession, it does not recognize the work itself, the market sectors in which they operate, the skills and qualities that they express.

On the one hand they have material needs (difficulties to transform cultural capital into economic capital), on the other hand they perceive "symbolic" problems (linked to the concept of symbolic capital introduced by Bourdieu).

The results of the research and critical insights are the result of the intersection of data from questionnaires and interviews with ethnographic experiences (for example: participation in some networking events for digital creative professionals, as Fabermeeting in Turin - June 2013; direct participation, as a member, in activities of Turin Fablab). These experiences have allowed the author to gain a closer look, and shared with the subjects of the research.

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Ethics, engagement and participation: the role of collective building in young free workers' biographies. Experiences of young Apulians.

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This presentation aims at reflecting on the contemporary forms of knowledge work, analyzing the relationships that are built among work, life, civic engagement, precariousness and innovation in small groups of young outliers. It presents the results of research carried out with a highly innovative group of young Apulian entrepreneurs.

The research project took place in Apulia and involved 20 case studies based on young people's entrepreneurial experiences which were solid, quite long-lasting, innovative, creative and oriented towards job creation for the youth.

These case studies were part of a broad research project entitled “Cosa bolle in pentola” conducted in the region of Apulia, with the aim of studying a wide range of innovative experiences of young people in several fields such as learning, culture, work and social participation.

The 20 case studies in the area of “work”, which this presentation is based on, were analyzed using the in-depth interview technique applied to 30 key people with different roles in the experiences observed: managers, partners, promoters, area supervisors and so on.

The 20 enterprises studied were selected based on diverse types and sized of companies, field of activity (within innovative and creative sectors such as high tech, caring, tourism, etc.), and province of origin.

A standard recruitment strategy could not be used: it was not possible to start from a sampling frame including a list of enterprises that met the mentioned selection criteria. This was due to a high level of informality and lack of visibility that official institutions grant to innovative experiences because of their reduced influence.

As usually done with “hidden populations” we used the snowball sampling method. We previously conducted 70 interviews with community leaders. During the interviews they were asked to indicate the most relevant experiences of young people in Apulia. They met our recruitment criteria and based on their insight of the reality of local youth.

Compiling the references of enterprises cited by the community leaders, we built a database with more than 445 experiences. We considered the compilation stage finished when the community leaders, who were interviewed, started citing only experiences already entered in the database.

The in-depth interviews held for the “work” topic experiences were focused on their main features, origin, resources and constraints in addition to the route taken by the young entrepreneurs until that moment. This issue, in particular, makes the description really interesting from a constructivist perspective, as it reveals how the new experiences have been built up and, above all, the meaning that the social actors had been giving their experiences.

These work experiences present the main features that the most relevant sociological literature has attributed to the “free work” phenomenon and to the knowledge society approaches to work in general: centrality of working relations, overlapping of labor tasks, increasingly immaterial performances, participation in the productive process, passion and creativity put to work, impossibility of distinguishing between working time and living time, increase of working hours, among others (Morini, Fumagalli, 2010).

The research results show how young people faced the alternative: standard Fordist work, paid, hetero directed, characterized by the specialization of labor and tasks, the separation of work and life; and the typical work of the knowledge society generally known as “free work”. There are life experiences in which the engagement in local development, or the construction of new social realities, for example, let the social actors experience the meaning categories such as work, production, passion, self empowerment in a very original form in their personal biography.

In these case studies, the “Fordist”/ “free” work dichotomy combines with the North/South dichotomy: the North of Italy represents the capitalistic society in which Fordism and post-Fordism are playing their game, especially, but not only in work organization; and the South – an area where the application of the organizational and social Fordist model had disastrous results. For them it represents a concrete and symbolic space where a new “work model” could be experimented. In this new model the workers seem to relate to the “free work” positive sentiments thanks to the engagement in a collective project of construction or the local identity roots.

In each case study we have tried to profoundly analyze the meaning and the interpretation given to their own experience of “free worker”, examining how each interviewee has elaborated the ambivalence associated to the new form of work widely analyzed in literature: precariousness/flexibility, autonomy/eternal dependence, exploitation/development of human resources, freedom/burnout, reward/ self exploitation.

Results demonstrate that ethic engagement and active citizenship can represent a powerful glue for social cohesion and a personal identity builder capable to protect people from the risks normally associated with “free work”.

About some uses of games in workplaces: from the freedom of the game to the experience of the work reality

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While game and work have been traditionally thought as opposed activities, spaces and times, the uses of games in workplaces has emerged since the 60's in companies and are, nowadays, especially for the role playing game, a current way of organizing teambuilding or training sessions for the management. We may think that uses of games coincide with new ways of management that also took place in France in the 60's, linked to the democratization of the access to higher education and the employees claim of more freedom, creativity and authenticity in relationships (Boltanski, Chiapello, 1999).

Playing in workplaces seems to, literally, play down work, and soften its conditions and the social relations of domination that occurs there. As discussed all long of the 20th century, game has been partly defined (Bateson, 1972 and Hamayon, 2012) as a change of frame. In companies, game would put employees and executives from a situation to another one and this transition would allow new ways of thinking actions, contexts and interactions.

We propose to question what the fact of going from the frame of work to the frame of game allows in terms of relationships, margins and representations. Despite of considering game as a condition, we will consider it as a transition from a space to another, creating a register of things and actions "that would stand for" other things and actions (Bateson, 1972).

Therefore, we propose to analyze what is produced from the structure of games used in workplaces and especially from role playing games. What is asserted for these games is that these fictional devices (for example a CEO becoming a maid or a mechanic) are supposed to give access to the "reality" of others places and activities, using a pleasant way to experiment that (thanks to the game). If hierarchies are sometimes reversed ("reversal day" is the name of one of these devices), it's also the case for the usual opposition work/game and also for fiction/real. And if playing is supposed to be constitutively a free activity, what about freedom in the games we have studied? What is the game's power of transformation (or not), applied in work situations? Moreover, what is denoted in game which has not the same denotation "for real"? What becomes freedom from game to work? And what about relationships or hierarchy or furthermore, professions?

Our field will be constituted by several games organized by executives in their companies:

- two role playing games will be considered : one in a communication agency, the other one in an hotel (fields observation, in-depth interviews);
- two game shows where executives are playing to be one of their employees (socio-semantic analysis).

We will also refer to our current observation of theater activities intended for managers.

This research on uses of games by the management is inscribed in an ethnography of management that I'm performing for 15 years. I have studied, as an employee, for 9 years new ways of management in several companies especially in the digital economy. This field gave me the possibility to examine the confusion between work and leisure and the constant reference to the emotional register of "passion" and self-fulfillment in work in a context where work conditions were hardened; what could be observed through the length of employment contracts or the level of the salary. What appeared as a paradox was the extreme flexibility of work, hard conditions and low salaries but the preoccupation of the work ambience by a recurrent organization of parties and games.

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Modding in a Free and Open Source Video Game – when doing it 'just for fun' stops being funny

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“*Just for fun!*” beside being the title of a renowned Free and Open Source Software (FOSS) practitioner's book (Torvalds and Diamond 2001) is also an epitome that well frames much of the rhetoric that accompanied the consolidation of contemporary participatory culture (Jenkins 2006), together with discourses about grassroots productivity, enjoyment of participation, fulfillment of personal interests, and expression of creativity. However, critical approaches recently called into question such pillars by highlighting that creativity, freedom of expression or end-users' empowerment manifest, more often than not, in so called *walled gardens* that are dominated by lock-in logic or low-level, amateur patchworking practices (Formenti 2011). On-line and collaborative phenomena such as fandom productivity, user-generated content and, to a minor extent, FOSS development fall within this culture and are subject to this problematization.

By conceiving video game modding as a form of fandom productivity and by focusing on FOSS modders, this presentation critically tackles a specific instance of participatory culture – FOSS video game modding – and it investigates a heavily under-researched phenomenon (Sotamaa 2010): the meanings that modders attach to their practices and the way that modding influences the relationship with their 'object of interest', the video game.

Mods (modifications) are player-made alterations or additions to preexisting video games. Typically, mod makers, or modders, are passionate and skilled players who usually form online teams and cooperate with one another in order to create such mods. As modding practice and modders' creative work got increasingly commodified by the video game industry, a sound understanding of how this productivity blurs traditional dichotomies between players and game designers, and between play and work becomes more and more important. In some cases, modding has been analyzed in conflicting terms as a form of resistance from the bottom against the restrictiveness of corporate game design, or a form of exploitation and unwaged work (Postigo 2003). In other cases, it has been analyzed in symbiotic terms with corporates' attempts to sustain and promote the practice or in relation to the mutual benefits that gamers and game companies can receive from it (Sotamaa 2007). Nevertheless, the question *how does the practice of modding change modders' relationship with the object of their fandom?* has largely been ignored in this debate.

To answer this question and to investigate patterns of engagement with such practice as they are experienced, changed and performed by modders in daily activities, a (cyber-)ethnographic (Teli, Pisanu, and Hakken 2007) study of a FOSS video game project – *The Battle for Wesnoth* (BfW) – was (overtly) conducted. BfW is a FOSS strategy video game entirely developed by a community of volunteers that heavily relies on the availability of additional content provided by modders. As it is typical for FOSS recursive publics (Kelty 2008), BfW provides the socio-technical means (tools documentation, policies, mentoring, support) for players, modders, and developers to further advance the development of the video game and of the game mods.

The fieldwork lasted 14 months (December 2010-April 2012) and it employed Internet-mediated interviews and participant observation as the primary techniques for gathering data. Practically, the fieldwork unfolded into long periods of observation, participation in the collective infrastructure (e.g., reading forum discussions about the creation of add-ons and discussing, via IRC or e-mail, improvements to add-ons and to *BfW*), game playing (e.g., multi-player and competitive matches), and off-line interactions (e.g., a few face-to-face interviews and attendance at a FOSS conference).

Findings of the study are twofold. On the one hand, results confirmed that the enthusiasm about the video game (its general design or specific aspects), the enjoyment of engaging in creative activities and the betterment of personal skills are key drivers in engaging players to become modders. However, on the other hand, if modding is taken as a committed endeavor that shall produce mods that are relevant for the community then it can radically change the modder's relationship to the game. Modders lose the desire to play, have fewer chances to it and, more interestingly, they also

develop a conflicted, love-hate relationship toward modding itself. In BfW, the play testing phase revealed to be paradigmatic. Play testing is a method of quality control that can take place at many points in time during mods development process. It is a repetitive activity which bears unclear results, yet it is necessary to fine tune and improve mods and, even if it is only one among other phases which are usually considered fun and creative, play testing itself can even trigger estrangement from involvement in the practice.

The findings, are relevant both for the areas of FOSS and video game studies, because they show limitations to the extent that a rhetoric based on the 'fun of participating' may be used to sustain long term participation. Furthermore, in case these results are demonstrated to be general, they would have relevant implications for emerging phenomena such as gamification and playbor (Kücklich 2005; Deterding et al. 2011). Indeed, this would suggest that using game-design elements to make non-gaming activities (e.g., work or education) more fun or more engaging, and trying to extract labor from playful activities, should be approached much more cautiously than is the case now.

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KNOWLEDGE AND ETHNOGRAPHY

Chair: Gianmarco Navarini, Università di Milano Bicocca, gianmarco.navarini@unimib.it
Friday 6th 16.00-19.00 – 1P

Co-constructing the adolescent's identity: Agency and autonomy as interactional accomplishments

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In this paper we leverage the insights of scholarship in linguistic anthropology and discursive psychology to re-examine dimensions typically associated to identity development in adolescence, i.e. agency and autonomy. While the traditional psychological perspective links agency to the developing individual and contrasts it with external structures, most frequently conceived of as constraining individual autonomy, we propose an interactional reappraisal of identity development during adolescence which brings to light the *situated* and *relational nature* of identity processes across the lifespan.

Drawing on recent linguistic anthropological reflection on identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) and discursive psychologists' theorizing on social positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990), we challenge the idea of identity as stable and coherent structure located within the individual psyche and foreground the dynamic and multifaceted manifestation and transformation of identity in social interaction. We also suggest that agency and autonomy, as key dimensions associated to adolescent identity development, do not emerge from the individual and solely manifest in interpersonal exchanges but are also co-constructed and transformed therein. As such, agency and autonomy are always interactional outcomes.

We illustrate and support our theoretical propositions through the discourse analysis of a corpus of 28 video-recorded in-home family interviews about family life and adolescents' experiences as family member conducted by the first author of this paper. The adolescents' age range was 13- 16 years. Interviews involved all family members and covered a range of topics pertaining both individual participants and the family as a whole. The interviews lasted about an hour each. Though the micro-analysis of exemplar conversational extracts we show how all participants to the interview—i.e., parents, adolescents, siblings, and the interviewer— contribute to create discursive opportunities for the expression of adolescents' agency, and at times to foreclose such opportunities. Our analysis also reveals that the discursive co-construction of adolescent agency and autonomy is not a linear process, devoid of tension and ambivalence. Oftentimes we observe the family oscillate between different interactional configurations, with individual family members claiming, declining, reclaiming certain roles and competencies vis-à-vis other members of the family.

In conclusion, by tracing the ways agency and autonomy emerge and are negotiated in interpersonal situations we illuminate the dynamic coming into being of individual identity and the intertwining of subjectivity and human relatedness. We also suggest that our study demonstrates the usefulness of bridging different disciplinary perspectives on human development as well as the analytic purchase that a discursive micro-examination of social interaction can accord to researchers in adolescence and developmental psychology more broadly.

Interaction as deuterio-learning: "Doing is thinking"

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When it was first published, Fulghum's book "All I really need to know I learned in kindergarten" (1990) appeared as a little superficial; however, it is true that small children actually learn

everything they need for living in their infancy. They learn about love, hygiene, and every other useful thing, and also how to behave sensibly. Ever since education as we know it became established, all individuals have been required to follow every step right up to university: they must have a very good social reason to stop short of it. The school is a secondary socialization agency, but first place in teaching and learning goes to the entire social context and this presence is so subtle that it goes unnoticed. Immersion in education is independent of the kind of knowledge transmitted and assimilated (Bauman, 2002).

The goal of this discussion is about social order learning, which tends to change the very moment it is achieved. Goffman (2003) observes that chaos hides under its fragile appearance, and says that its rules are so mysterious that it continually poses questions on how social order can be possible. According to Bateson (2001) there is first-degree learning (*proto-learning*), which can be experienced directly, protocolled, and planned, and second-degree learning (*deutero-learning*) through which individuals get in the habit of placing the stress on events in a specific way, thus transforming meaningful episodes into sequences. The first two steps of the teaching process are somewhat in line with man's nature and can be found in every culture. Studying and teaching are the processes on which the transmission of knowledge is based. Two things are important: knowing who is the teacher and who is the learner, and recognizing what knowledge is worthy of learning and what knowledge has to be avoided (Mead, 1972). A situation without a structure, or an overly structured situation, is not contemplated. "It has been estimated that 10,000 hours of the highest-level (...) practice are necessary to produce a master carpenter or a professional musician. Technique is no longer a mechanical activity: only after they have learned to do their job properly are people able to wholly understand with feeling and thought what they are doing (Sennett, 2008, p. 28).

To discuss our goal we think it is useful to start from the importance of doing (union of body and mind) and from the relationship with the other participants. I will underline that language uses the prefix "com/con" (from the Latin *cum*=together) to define a large part of social human behaviors, be they affective, operative, or scientific. To do this I will take inspiration from some very significant authors, among them Sennett, who maintains that *homo faber* has the task of constructing a shared life (man as the creator and maker). He is also the judge of work and material practices, and is superior to *animal laborans*, whose tasks are doing (building) and discussing with others what has been done; they are his two dimensions (teaching a task-doing it together) in which the 'doing' process includes thought and feeling (Sennett, 2008). In the second part of the book, Sennett proposes and discusses two contrasting theses: all abilities, even the most abstract, start as body practices, with technical intelligence itself developing through the faculty of imagination. Bridgman (1952) observes that to give real meaning to concepts that can be applied in scientific fields it is necessary to employ an operational method that reflects the actual empirical work so as to adapt the concept to the operational measures used. Therefore, as many concepts of measure will exist as the number of operations of measure carried out. Another important scholar is Goodwin (2003): in his work *Il senso del vedere [The sense of vision]* he shows that in perceptual processes connected with different activities perception itself is not situated in the psychology of individual brains and in the cognitive processes linked to it, but it is 'deposited' in, if not even created by, situated social practices. Practical intelligence is present in every task and working activity, not only in material activity, but also in intellectual activity and in theoretical work (Mattozzi, 2006).

The eye and the ear are capable of abstraction; they are our most primitive instruments of understanding in virtue of which we become aware of a world of things and events that are the history of things. Our sense organs do their habitual unconscious abstractions in the interest of that reification function that underlies the ordinary recognition of objects, the knowledge of signs, words, melodies, places, and the possibility to classify all that according to their species (Langer, 1972; Tassarolo, 2005). Deutero-learning places the social context at the top of the learning and teaching process, in the way of transmitting abilities and knowledge, and attributes a more important role to context than to the content of transmission itself.

Social facts are configured as the macroscopic outcome of complex concatenation processes that

involve all levels of the technical social network. The theory of communities of practice places its heuristic weight on different types of learning activities which are allowed and encouraged by the rank of the actor in the hierarchies of the group rather than in individual abilities or properties. Bourdieu (2009) observes that relational thinking means placing things in their contexts, looking for their value and meaning not in their properties but in their difference from or homology to other things. The structure of experience is shaped by culture, that is to say, by that set of profound, common, and unspecified experiences that are unconsciously communicated and that make up the background against which all other events are assessed.

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A meta-ethnographic tale to reflect on ethnographic practice

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As an opportunity to reflect on ethnography practice, I will illustrate a learning path for social and health care professionals working in maternal and child services in Emilia Romagna, in which I have been involved as a designer and teacher. The project was founded by the Agenzia Sociale e Sanitaria dell'Emilia Romagna. The course aimed both to provide the ethnographic gaze as an innovative analytical tool for reading ordinary organizational processes and to stimulate the creation of a community of practice among professionals working in eleven different maternal and child public services. The two goals were deeply related: on the one hand, the ethnographic method has provided participants with a "pre-text" around which they could focus for developing such "intimacy of trade" necessary for the development of community of practice (Wenger, McDermott and Snyder, 2002; on the other hand, strengthening the community relationships around the topic of everyday practice motivates participants in learning and applying ethnographic method and tools.

Social and health care everyday practice filtered by an ethnographic gaze has become the domain around which the rising community of practice has reinforced its own social cohesion and intensity of communicative interactions. Based on the results of this process, the combination of an ethnographic method and community of practice's participatory paradigm is emerging as an effective tool for the enhancement of tacit knowledge and situated practice, both widely recognized as core parts of every organization in contemporary knowledge society.

I will discuss the theoretical assumptions that led to the choice of participatory ethnography as a training method and I will illustrate some tools provided to participants and some relevant results of the path, in order to highlight the effectiveness in terms of organizational development and professional growth of companies of individuals and, more specifically for this paper, as a basis for reflective analysis for the same practices of ethnography. First of all, the course aimed to introduce participants to a specific form of ethnographic study, participatory ethnography. Such a form represents what Holmes and Marcus (2005) call a refunctioning of ethnography, in which knowledge and research products come from the work of various social actors involved in the field,

belonging to different epistemic domains. The authors introduce the category of "para-ethnographer" for distinguishing social actors without ethnographic background from ethnographers themselves (Holmes and Marcus, 2008).

Darrouzet, Wild and Wilkinson (2010) propose to distinguish between the "collaborative ethnography", in which several ethnographers take part in the same study, and the "participatory ethnography", in which subjects who collect empirical data and perform data analyses and interpretations are mostly unrelated to the epistemic world of ethnography. These subjects generally possess a high degree of knowledge of the empirical setting and they usually play social and organizational roles that allow a wide view of processes being studied. In addition, the role of para-ethnographer let them look at their own organization and their daily practices with a different look, similar (though not identical) to the researcher's one.

There is necessarily a lack of cognitive and emotional distance from the empirical field, a distance that is characteristic of the typical ethnographic role at the beginning of his investigation, coming from an epistemic world different from the empirical field.

However, through ad hoc training activities, the para-ethnographers involved in the path have learned to distinguish and manipulate ethics and emic perspectives, namely the two sides of ethnographic research: the perspective of the researcher (ethics) and that of the native (emic).

So, the ethnographic gaze has provided a new analytical perspective for daily practices of social and health care professionals involved in the path. These practices have become the focus around which the nascent community of practice has focused, developing its thematic field around organizational, professional and ethical problems recurring in the different work contexts.

My presentation would be a kind of meta-ethnographic tale, taking the experience of para-ethnographers, for their status as novices with respect to methodological topic, as a stimulus to reflect on our theoretical and methodological premises as ethnographers.

I also want to highlight the role of the ethnographic researcher as an agent of innovation in organizational contexts, in my opinion inscribed in the same epistemological foundations of ethnography, in which the researcher's involvement in a specific social world as empiric field inevitably activates organizational and social changing processes. Thereby methodological and ethical issues arise, which I would try to partially answer in my speech.

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Working, social and biological time in the ethnographic work: a first conceptual reflexion

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The issue of social times, such as prescribed time, professional time, biological and other time is an important focus of research in the sociology of work (Trembaly, Alberio 2013). In recent years, especially in the context of the knowledge economy, there has been much interest in the changes of the organization of work, work-related requirements and rules, flexibility and work-family articulation. The relationship between professional time and family time is more complex in the majority of industrialized countries because most workplaces have not necessarily adapted to these new requirements.

Temporality can also be analyzed in terms of life trajectories, as well as a function of age (the time of young versus older workers). Social temporalities refer to all the time for family or professional

life. Over the years researchers have been led to distinguish the time for work, time for personal and professional training, recreation and the time of care and parenting (Barrère - Maurisson , 2009 cited in Tremblay, Alberio 2013).

Although regulations and social norms strongly define some of these typologies of time, especially working time, there are also more personal perceptions of time. This is the case for instance when we focus on social times, since we are more interested in the experience and perception of the time that we seek to articulate (Tremblay, 2008 cited in Tremblay, Alberio 2013). Between working time and personal perception there are also professional peculiarities that might give a specific relationship and attitude to time.

In this presentation, we want to introduce a preliminary reflection about the relationship between time and the ethnographical work, moving from a methodological perspective. Ethnography is an academic discipline but it also becomes a profession for those who practice it. Ethnography has a very peculiar relationship to time and demands first of all (but not only) a long term fieldwork (Wolcott 1995). However, as some scholars have already underlined, in academia as also in other sectors, the relationship to time has changed in favor of a fast accountability and productivity. "These days the realities of academic life and the pressures of funding bodies for quick completion make a twelve month minimum a luxury. Most often contemporary ethnographers, as we did, 'link brief visits that extend over a long period of time, so that the brevity of the periods is mollified by the effect of long-term acquaintance (Wolcott 1995 p. 77)". (Jeffrey, Troman 2002, 2004 p. 3).

Another requirement in the ethnographic work is the complete "temporal submission" of the researcher to his field. The ethnographer is not completely free to choose his/her working time, but has to adapt to the reality of the fieldwork and the individuals studied. At the same time the researcher has also other time prescriptions in and outside the professional sphere to respect: teaching, administrative tasks, personal life, childcare etc.

Taking into account these methodological requirements concerning time, we will then consider more specifically the issue of prescribed time at work, personal and family time, biological time. We will try to apply these general concepts to the ethnographical work.

Our aim is to make some preliminary reflections and underline the main points from which we can later on move (not in this paper/presentation) to start a real empirical analysis and studying through qualitative methods the relationship to time and time prescriptions in the daily life of ethnographic researchers.

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Eventi traumatici e ricostruzione: uno studio qualitativo sulle pratiche dal basso in uno spazio digitale

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L'evento catastrofico costituisce un momento estremamente dirompente rispetto all'ordinarietà, coinvolgendo l'individuo, la sua storia ed anche il contesto sociale di riferimento. Se utilizziamo una prospettiva narrativa, possiamo dire che il disastro naturale costituisce un *punto di svolta* (Jedlowski, 2000) verso cui occorre attivare in modo repentino ed improvviso tutte le risorse personali e comunitarie a disposizione.

Emerge chiaramente una forte con-fusione tra dimensione personale e collettiva e questo è ancora più evidente se si prende in considerazione la memoria, come processo dinamico e come risultante narrativa di una data cultura o società (Smorti, 2005). Il processo di rimemorazione è di per sé una pratica ricostruttiva centrata sul principio della definizione di una storia condivisa che sia traccia di un evento o di un vissuto (Namer, 1996) e di per sé un disastro naturale è un evento memorabile

(De Caro, 2005).

La narrazione, infatti, “agisce nella restituzione di senso e di significato, contribuendo alla rilettura alla riscrittura della propria storia, all’apertura ad uno sguardo differente sulla realtà, alla creazione di senso, a facilitare la costruzione dell’identità personale” e sociale (Batini, 2009, p. 48).

Il presente paper si propone di descrivere aspetti metodologici e risultati di una ricerca empirica condotta sul progetto NoiL’Aquila (<http://www.noilaquila.com>), una piattaforma sviluppata da Google per contenere e topografare le memorie e i racconti sulla città, a partire dai tragici vissuti del terremoto del 2009.

L’idea di fondo di questa iniziativa, lanciata a un anno di distanza dall’evento traumatico, era quella di offrire uno spazio contenitivo di narrazioni più o meno condivise che mettessero al centro il territorio, offrendo lo spunto per una ricostruzione virtuale dell’Aquila che coincidesse con una ricostruzione del senso e della memoria di una comunità attraverso le nuove tecnologie. Il progetto ha previsto anche l’installazione di una postazione di connessione dalla principale piazza della città, ad accesso gratuito, provvista di pc e collegamento ad Internet. Il rimando dentro-fuori la Rete era dunque esplicitato da un invito alla narrazione da uno dei luoghi più emblematici del terremoto.

La piattaforma, graficamente riconoscibile come un ambiente di Google, con particolare riferimento all’app “maps”, è suddivisa in due ambienti: “Esplora e ricorda”, finalizzato a raccogliere il senso del passato attraverso le memorie biografiche degli users, e “Ispira il futuro” volto a raccogliere virtualmente narr-azioni ricostruttive e prospettiche aperte verso il domani.

La ricerca ha riguardato l’immersione nell’ambiente digitale e l’analisi qualitativa di 278 post, pubblicati dal lancio del progetto alla fine del 2011. Più nello specifico, obiettivo generale dell’analisi era quello di verificare il ruolo della piattaforma nel processo collettivo di ricostruzione identitaria di una comunità, dilaniata dal terremoto.

L’approccio utilizzato ai fini interpretativi è di tipo integrato e prevalentemente centrato su un impianto narrativo, che parte dal presupposto che ogni singolo elemento testuale custodito dalla piattaforma e dotato di una precisa locazione nello spazio, possa essere considerato un frammento biografico dotato di senso e strettamente legato alla memoria collettiva e individuale.

La frequentazione dell’ambiente e l’analisi esplorativa, hanno portato a individuare tre diversi elementi narrativi che hanno orientato il lavoro interpretativo:

- Il tempo del racconto: dal punto di vista della messa in discorso emerge chiaramente una distribuzione temporale degli elementi autobiografici condivisi che va dal passato remoto – associabile al tempo dell’infanzia – al presente – e dunque al trauma del terremoto.
- il soggetto della memoria, identificabile in taluni casi con l’Io narrante e in altri casi con un NOI, che restituisce il senso di comunità sotteso al racconto;
- il carattere locativo della memoria riferibile sia a spazi pubblici (della città o di un gruppo) che a spazi privati (nella maggior parte dei casi la propria casa o altri ambienti privati significativi).

Senza entrare troppo nel merito dell’analisi, ci preme condividere l’impianto interpretativo che ha visto la messa in asse di due delle tre dimensioni appena indicate, ovvero il soggetto della memoria e lo spazio di riferimento, permettendo in questo modo di individuare quattro diversi quadranti.

Ad ognuno di essi è attribuibile un diverso modo di mettere in discorso e condividere la memoria, che viene restituita in modo dinamico attraverso la geolocalizzazione sulla mappa, attraverso l’incrocio di sguardi profondamente personali rivolti alla propria vita e alla storia di una città.

Alle quattro tipologie di memorie individuate (1. Memoria personale; 2. Memoria socio-biografica; 3. Memoria condivisa; 4. Memoria collettiva urbana) corrispondono, infatti, diverse pratiche narrative digitali e dalla sedimentazione del narrato è possibile immaginare anche le intenzioni soggiacenti: in alcuni casi riparatorie, in altre compensatorie, in altre ancora soprattutto ricostruttive.

MICHEL FOUCAULT: ETHNOGRAPHY AND CRITIQUE

Convenors:

Martina Tazzioli, University of Oulu, Finland
Orazio Irrera, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne,
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MICHEL FOUCAULT: ETHNOGRAPHY AND CRITIQUE I

Friday 6th 9.00-12.00 – Room 6 SA

Michel Foucault: Ethnography and Critique
Orazio Irrera, Martina Tazzioli

Since the Sixties, Michel Foucault had described his work in ethnographic terms, stressing that for him it was a question of situating outside of the culture we belong to, in order to critically show the way in which this latter was built. Foucault's perspective, far from representing only an historical analysis of the nexus between powers and knowledges, as a genealogy was firmly anchored to the analysis of the present; and it was also grounded on the ethical and political necessity to understand the present as the threshold that splits up what we have become from what we are no longer, in order to open some possibilities to think ourselves differently from what we are. On the one hand, ethnography appears for sure among the human and the social sciences that on the one hand are susceptible of the critique addressed by Foucault, but on the other in the last decades it seemed to be able to take the critical solicitations produced by the French philosopher. For this reason, it seems useful to question the way in which today – a present which is certainly different from the present of Foucault – ethnographic practices still succeed in making operative some of the conceptual tools offered by Foucault tool-box. However, the uses of these tools are not limited to a mere application: rather, the application itself becomes a moment of test, of experimentation and of theoretical and methodological innovation, extending further the Foucaultian trajectory beyond the lines of research undertaken by him.

The "invisible" ethnographer
Nataascia Tosel, Università degli Studi di Padova, nataascia.tosel@gmail.com

"What does it matter who is speaking?" asks Foucault in *Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?*, mentioning Samuel Beckett's words. In that text Foucault proclaims the death of the author, as well as only a few years before, he had shown another death, that of Subject. In both cases, it is properly a matter of disappearance: Subject disappears from the scene, because it is no more represented, as it happens in Velázquez's picture *Las Meninas*, to which Foucault devotes the first chapter of *Les Mots et les Choses*. In that occasion the French philosopher tells us that if it is true that Subject disappears, however he is not totally absent: it is in fact the subject that establishes the representation, but now he has become invisible and so he allows the representation to be pure, since he releases their bonds with her. Something similar happens to the author from the moment that, if from a side the function-author fails, from the other the notions of "work" and of "writing" maintain in life the author himself. We now ask what all this has to do with ethnography: apparently nothing, but at a sharper look, maybe we can find that these problems instead concern closely the work of the ethnographer. The ethnographer in fact puts to use two fundamentals practices: first of all the observation (even that "participant" theorized by Malinowski) of ethnographic field, and then its reconstruction in writing form. In both cases, he has to deal with disappearances established by

Foucault: of the subject in the first case, of the author in the second. The ethnographer in fact goes to the place of interest of his studies, and it is here that he builds his field of work; through his research and his interviews, he gives rise to a sort of representation. This representation would not even exist if the ethnographer, through his work, had not set it in motion: he is the person who instituted it, but at the same time he is not part of it. The ethnographer thus plays the same role of Philip IV and his wife, Margaret, in the above mentioned picture of Velázquez: all represented see the king and the queen exactly in front of them, but at the same time they are invisible to outside eyes. Also the ethnographer behaves in this way: he constitutes a representation (the ethnographical field) that bends in front of him, and he makes himself invisible as Subject (he doesn't give judgments about what he sees; he tries to be impassive). He must do the same as author: he has to become invisible, and usually he does it reporting objectively the information, never saying "I" and mostly using the so-called "ethnographic present". But is it really this what Foucault means talking about the death of the subject and the author? Probably not; in fact Foucault draws from such events different consequences than the mere disappearance of the speaker behind the spectre of the objectivity. So what does it mean for Foucault becoming invisible? And may it be a possible task for the ethnographer? These are the questions we must ask ourselves now. We start with the problem of invisibility: it implies that the ethnographer should not be "seen" neither by his interlocutor (on the field), nor by his reader. But what is it that, which properly should not be seen? This has got nothing to do with ethnographer's impressions, nor with his opinions; Foucault speaks here rather of the proper name: losing the name means to lose the identity (that is to say that it does not matter where the ethnographer comes from, where he was born, how he is grown or how he has arrived just in that specific place). What counts is not what the ethnographer was before arriving on the field, it counts only what he is now, in the moment in which he is already immersed in his work, it counts his "actuality", to use a term dear to Foucault. And of course also his feelings, his thoughts and his emotions are part of his actual present: he has not to become an impersonal "robot", even when he puts in writing his experience. Indeed, in this case it might be more profitable if he reported everything, including his impressions, and if he spoke in the first person, but he left anonymous the text (and Foucault gives a concrete example in this sense: the texts written by the members of the *Groupe d'Information sur les Prisons*, which he directed, remained anonymous, unsigned). Achieving this type of invisibility, however, implies a change in the relationships with himself and with the others. First of all with ourselves, because the ethnographer must now think to himself as pure actuality, and this implies the beginning of a process of ethical subjectification through which the ethnographer, having disappeared as Subject (with a capital), reappears as subject, this time not a subject defined and fixed (i.e. not immediately identifiable), but a subject in becoming, changing depending on the situation that lies ahead and on the different practices that should be implemented. Then there is a change also, and perhaps above all, in relationship with others; and the others for the ethnographer are essentially two: those who are the object of his study, namely the representatives, and the readers, that is those who look at the representation. In respect of the first ones, "the actual ethnographer" changes role: in fact, he should no longer talk "instead of" them or "in their name", but it should give them the possibility of speaking (this was also the task that Foucault attributed to GIP); likewise, he must not simply instruct his readers. The task of the ethnographer is political: he "gives the word" to the representatives, instead of representing them, and they can finally speak. But why do they need the ethnographer to speak? Why can they not speak? Simply because they are taken, like all of us, in the tangles of power: this power, as Foucault has conceived it, blocks their words. However, if the ethnographer can really become invisible as Subject, he can escape the power, not hiding in objectivity, but putting in place a new process of subjectivation, because it is trapped either by the power relations that prevail in the society that is object of his study (it's not to forget, that he is not part of the representation he constructs), nor from those existing in the society to which he belongs, because when he practices ethnography he is merely "actual". It is only through this new relationship with himself and with others that the ethnographer can break through the wall of power; and it is exactly here that he entirely puts into play his ethical and political task.

«Discourse» and «practice» of ethnography in Michel Foucault

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Trace an history of the foucauldian archaeology of human sciences like ethnology and ethnography is perhaps something less than a reconstruction of a crucial theoretical passage in his intellectual biography, but probably something more than a mere description of a local microcosmos inside the whole macrocosmos of his thought. Therefore not simply a formal relation: the alterations of the field between ethnography, ethnology and science of myth defines some of the key epistemic assumptions of Foucault's reflection. Two specific moments seems paradigmatic of the foucauldian reception and discussion of methodologies and scientific apparatuses of this branch of knowledge. In *Les mots et les choses* Foucault designates ethnology and psychoanalysis as counter-sciences, disciplines that establish the field of objectivity of all human sciences. Ethnology, particularly, manages the historical conditions in which the human being becomes a scientific object: in other words, ethnology as a discourse that questions the statute of nature and culture, and consequently accounts, on a meta-theoretic level, for the artificial nature of reflection. Here the rigor of scientific knowledge is in Foucault's view deep-rooted in the process of totalization and in the discontinuity between nature and culture, practice and theory, object and discourse. The grammar of the human sciences subsumes the phenomena, but also local rationalities of every discipline are the visible surface of the deep field of the sciences de l'homme.

Answering to the questions following the conference consecrate to *La vérité et les formes juridiques*, Foucault offers some observations about Vernant, Dumézil and Lévi-Strauss. He tries to define structuralism as the specific epistemological tendency of inscribing various concrete practices under discursive regimes. The oeuvre of Georges Dumézil seems, from this point of view, ambivalent: Foucault claims that in his work Dumézil search for general relations and oppositions inside the structure of myths, and in this sense he is exactly a forerunner of structuralism; but he also tries to compose discourses with other social practices, an operation opposed to the aim of , for example, Lévi-Strauss researches. Now Foucault, who explicitly complies with the second approach, thinks the statute of the single science, of the single discourse, as always linked to some other theoretical, or real, objects: the definition of discourse as practice leads to a new concept of positivity emerging from the encounter with other elements part of the same level.

The epistemic alteration of the statute of the ethnology probably leads, in the new context, to a different heuristic role: from a contre-science guarantor of the rigor of any other science, to a discourse leveled off to the plane of every other practice.

School orientation at the end of lower secondary school. An ethnographic study on a technology of government

Marco Romito, University of Milan, marco.romito@unimi.it

Aim of the contribution is to explore the empiric material gathered in some months of participant observation carried out in two classes of lower secondary school in Milan (IT) during school orientation activities. I will use a Foucauldian conceptual toolbox to show how the orientation practices observed can be read as *dispositif* of bio-political power: a technology of government of the self that is capable to produce subjects «autonomously» adapting their aspirations and ambitions to the forces structuring the scholastic and economic field. The empiric study allow as well to illustrate how the subject-object of these orientation practices, in some cases, resist and oppose their will to the functioning of this dispositif. I will thus show that subjectivities are the product of processes not necessarily coherent and I will discuss the intrinsic ambivalence of the technology of government of the self.

Public debate on Italian school system is increasingly stressing the relevance of orientation and school guidance as a means to provide the labor market with subjects capable of adapting to its

needs (cfr. Laval, Clement and Dreux, 2012). European Commission directives and Italian Ministerial documents stress the importance to support individuals during their overall life cycle with services and technologies aimed at guiding them in their school and professional decisions (Sultana 2004). Orientation, from this point of view, should address a twofold function: to guarantee and adequate allocation of individuals within the contemporary system of labor division and of making possible that the trajectories undertaken and the positions individuals occupy within that system are the outcomes of «free choices».

Research on the increasing importance given to counseling and career guidance within the labor market has illustrated how programs delved at increasing workers «employability» may represent a key technology of neoliberal governmentality (Frade and Darmond 2006; Darmond and Perez 2011). Workers «activation», their capacity to handle consciously and responsibly their career transitions represent, from this point of view, the objective of a bio-political power that govern *through* individual freedom (Foucault 2004; Rose 1990; 1999).

In Italy, during the last decades, there has been an increasing trend in school guidance methodologies to stress that the role of counselors (psychologists, educators, teachers) should be to sustain individuals in their «autonomous» and «active» decision making process by allowing them to develop specific «orientation competences» (Pombeni 1999; Reale 2013). These competences can be subsumed in individual auto-analysis capacity and in the capacity to read and grasp the opportunities and constraints available within the school or working field.

In the paper, I will analyze a specific orientation program carried out by an *equipe* of professional educators with two classes of lower secondary school. This program was aimed at sustaining students, when they are about thirteen, in choosing the type of upper secondary school track they will enroll the subsequent year (vocational, technical or academically orientated). According to recent trends and approaches in school guidance methodologies (Marostica 2011) this program aimed at supporting students in their «own» choices without providing them with authoritative formal evaluations stating counselors views on the type of school tracks that most fits with each students capacities. The program will be analyzed dividing it in three phases: development of auto-analysis capacity; development of the capacity to read opportunities and constraints associated with each choice option; individual colloquia between students and counselors.

I will show the process of shaping student' educational aspirations while getting *through* the orientation *dispositive* and I will illustrate how educators define “regime of truths” on students' attitudes and scholastic potential by creating a *dossier* for each of them. I will argue that the first two phases of the orientation process allow counselors to provide students with the specific categories of thought and vocabularies through which to think and evaluate themselves as persons and students, through which to judge their own initial aspirations and life project. I will also illustrate how the first two phases of the orientation process allow counselors to gather a set of informations (on students' school paths, on students' socio-economic background, on students' school and non-school interests and on their initial educational ambitions) necessary to construct a documentation, a *dossier*, that will be used during face-to-face individual colloquia. By analyzing the third phase of the guidance program, I will show the subtle confrontations taking place during the setting of individual colloquia. I will argue that educators aim to impose a specific “regime of truth” to each students while asking them to make an «autonomous» and «free» choice, to evaluate, position, classify, (re)cognize themselves within the specific coordinates of truth defined by educators (cfr. Foucault 2003).

During the final part of the contribution, I will discuss how, and in which situations, students refuse to subject themselves to the logic and to the knowledge transmitted through the orientation *dispositive*.

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An ethnography of safety at work. A governmental approach

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The paper is intended to explore the field of prevention and safety in workplaces through the theoretical tools developed in the area of governmentality studies. The ideas proposed are based on the materials of a research in progress on the ignored insecurities in the context of advanced liberalism. The research uses a qualitative methodology: semi-structured interviews, in-depth interviews, document analysis, participant observation.

In Italy a plurality of actors works in the field of occupational safety and health, with a fragmentation of supervisory activities on the prevention of accidents and diseases. The involved professions act on the basis of different types of knowledge - medical, legal, engineering, social - and according to different practices of control and regulation. These practices, often in mutual tension, not only answer to purposes of evaluation and disciplining but try to translate work situations in another language, from time to time statistical, medical or related to labour law. Alongside these public figures, there is a panoply of private actors, mainly engaged in activities of training and in the implementation of management systems. The related discursive field reflects this diversity of knowledge and practices. Match point of the macro-semantics about health and work, the discourse about prevention and safety reflects the short circuits between the biopolitical logics of life preservation and the needs to produce.

During the fieldwork, the application of a governmental analytical approach allows to the ethnographic view to remain open and detached, nevertheless guiding the observation with a solid and appropriate interpretative grid. The adequacy of the interpretive frame concerns its ability to stimulate the detection of connections between the knowledge used by the various actors, the inspection practices of officials involved in prevention activities, the techniques for understanding and evaluating used by the latter ones, the relations of power between workers, employers and supervisory agencies. This kind of theoretical framework also allows to get some crucial connections between the micro level - the particular work situations - and the wider sphere of the social, economic and cultural coordinates related to the neo-liberal mode of governing people.

Firstly, the focus on technologies of the self applied to individual workers lights up some trajectories that, in contemporary times, alter the relationship between risk and worker. Risk management is partially transferred to individual subjectivity. The employee is to be made responsible towards their own and others' safety and is called to develop a prudential attitude. The rules and the training to which he is subjected regulate his conduct within the workplaces, ensuring that he is able to conduct himself and to deal with risk by the ability to adapt himself to contingencies.

This seems to be in accordance to all the changes that, in the recent decades, have invested the modes of production, fragmenting and flexibilizing them. The responsabilization of individuals has also concerned other aspects of the government of the population. The withdrawal of public social protection systems has been accompanied by empowerment techniques addressed to individuals who are called to take action in order to deal with life accidents. Another important aspect is the

phenomenon of the delegation of state sovereignty to private agencies, whose symptoms are felt also in the emergence of a "market" of safety where, literally and dearly, the fulfillments to the provisions of law are sold.

The empowerment strategies of workers bound to their well-being are synchronous to the progressive erosion of their rights and their bargaining power in the employment relationship. With regard to the precarization of work, it is significant that, neither in legislation nor in the technical and technological support provided to inspectors (application forms, checklists, etc.), there are traceable elements that emphasize the link between precarious jobs and injuries, although this correlation is substantiated by an extensive academic literature. Emblematic in this sense, in the Testo Unico (Legislative Decree no. 81/2008) the figure of the worker is static and, except some cautious indications, is brought back to the traditional permanent employment contract. This fixity not only acts in the workplaces as a kind of normalization of work precarization but it creates a rift between the knowledge of officials and the actual conditions of social work. This gap is exacerbated by the indications that the local authorities responsible for the checks receive from the Ministries to which they belong. The latter emphasize efficiency based on numerical criteria and results to be achieved; the former suffer from chronic lack of resources and personnel. The inspectors also act in a world sorely tried by the long economic downturn. This puts them in the tough situation of being intermediaries between the aseptic emphasis of ministerial circulars and the efforts of firms to survive.

The use of a governmental approach in the field of occupational safety and health offers a good testing ground to evaluate two different opportunities. Firstly, it allows testing the validity of this type of analysis in guiding the ethnographer both in the selection process (what to observe?) and in the connection between elements that are likely to appear disjointed. Secondly, it can be an opportunity to assess the heuristic capacity of governmentality studies in their application to specific local contexts. The interpretation of these contexts is also suitable to be placed *en rapport* to the more general level - closer to Foucault's text - of the modes of government in a neo-liberal society.

MICHEL FOUCAULT: ETHNOGRAPHY AND CRITIQUE II

Friday 6th 16.00-19.00 – Room 6 SA

Love Meetings: Pasolini and Foucault

Nicholas de Villiers, University of North Florida, n.devilliers@unf.edu

This presentation discusses the major "sites of problematization" of sexuality in Pier Paolo Pasolini's often ironic or sarcastic cinéma vérité search for the "true Italy" by way of sex in his film *Comizi d'amore* (Love Meetings, 1964): the freedom of women; divorce; sexual abnormality (homosexuality, inversion, perversion); prostitution law; machismo and conformism. Pasolini's interactive interviews and reflexive commentary, as well as the way the film is broken into different chapters or quasi-ethnographic "researches," point to major dividing lines of region (North/South), class, sex, and generation. Author Alberto Moravia and Pasolini puzzle over the meaning of the interviewees' shyness, silence, and reticence. In "The Gray Mornings of Tolerance," Michel Foucault responds to the French version of *Comizi d'amore*, entitled *Enquête sur la sexualité* [inquiry into sexuality], which Foucault notes is an odd translation for this symposium that is more like *Street Talk about Love*. According to Foucault, "What pervades the entire film is not ... the obsession with sex but a kind of historical apprehension ... with regard to a new system that was emerging in Italy—that of tolerance ... the gray mornings of tolerance do not appeal to anyone, and no one feels that they promise a celebration of sex." This argument is similar to Foucault's mistrust of the rhetoric of sexual liberation and his critique of the subject's interpellation by confessional discourse. I address Cesare Casarino and Angelo Restivo's readings of Pasolini's approach to subaltern, Southern subjects (as well as children) who resist or are indifferent to modernizing,

bourgeois, and tolerance discourses and the confessional form of the interview. I focus on a section of the film addressing the new Merlin law (Legge Merlin) that closed the state-run brothels and how it highlights generational differences. This section of the film also raises the question of male sex work, which connects to Pasolini's question to adult men about whether sexual abnormality (homosexuality) inspires in them a sentiment of disgust or pity. I argue that the discussion of inversion/homosexuality in the film reveals a number of interesting contradictions (in practices, identities, and epistemologies) and points to what Eve Sedgwick calls "knowingness," which is not the opposite of ignorance or incredulity.

Casarino and Restivo argue that Comizi d'amore's subversive power lies in its testimony to the failure of the modern deployment of sexuality to fully take hold in the South. Restivo notes Foucault's attention—in *The History of Sexuality* volume 1—to the bourgeois definition and regulation of childhood, women, the family, and nonprocreative sexualities as the hegemonic discourse of "sexuality." Restivo suggests that with the Legge Merlin, "we come to the place where the junction between hegemonic discourse and the body produces the most visible rupture."

The film's problematizing of women's freedom, prostitution (heterosexual and homosexual), and inversion/perversion/homosexuality—as ethical or moral problems, as well as political problems calling for "rights" in an emergent age of tolerance and consumerism—indicate how entangled these issues are. Restivo argues that, "In fact, homosexuality in this film can be seen as the strand that interconnects all the other modernizing discourses about the body—from hygiene to prostitution to women's rights. Thus, homosexuality becomes in the film the most interesting site of contestation." Restivo explains how "enlightened" and modernizing discourses about both prostitution and homosexuality were disseminated in the bourgeois magazine *L'Espresso*. But he then highlights how Pasolini's interviews in the south of Italy contradict the models constructed by *L'Espresso*. I emphasize how Pasolini does not try to smooth over or unify this friction of discourses in *Love Meetings*.

This presentation is part of a chapter of my current book manuscript *Sexography: Sex Work and Cinéma Vérité* that combines critical ethnography and Foucauldian discourse analysis in examining a number of ethnographic documentaries about sex work. Confronting the ethical questions that are raised by ethnographic documentary and interviews with marginalized subjects, I advocate shifting our approach from scrutinizing the motives of those who sell sex, to examining the motives and roles of the filmmakers and transnational audiences for these films.

The theoretical framework I employ combines the complimentary approaches of Foucauldian discourse analysis, critical ethnography of sex work, and documentary theory, but also forwards a theory of confessional and counter-confessional "performance" for the camera. I pay special attention to the tactical negotiation of power in interviews, in a way that extends my earlier work on this topic in *Opacity and the Closet: Queer Tactics in Foucault, Barthes, and Warhol*, but in an expanded global frame. I am inspired, foremost, by Foucault's critique of confessional discourse ("this great sexography which makes us decipher sex as the universal secret") and his discussion of sexuality in terms of sites of problematization in *The History of Sexuality* Volumes I & II and his late interviews and courses at the Collège de France, but also by his much more rarely discussed writing about film.

Israeli "Straight Talk" and *Parrhesia*

Tamar Katriel, University of Haifa, tamark@edu.haifa.ac.il

Located within the Ethnography of Speaking research tradition as it has developed within Linguistic Anthropology since the 1960s, my study addresses Israeli "straight talk", natively known as *dugri* speech, as a culturally and historically inflected way of speaking. In a further elaboration of this study, I focus on an ongoing testimonial project of a group of veterans of the Israeli army who have organized ten years ago under the name of *Breaking the Silence* (BTS) in order to create an archive of soldiers' testimonies concerning their military service in the Occupied Palestinian Territories

(OPT). By consistently collecting, amassing and disseminating soldiers' personal stories relating to their experiences as part of the occupation regime - initially videotaped in one-on-one sessions – through a wide range of forms and venues, BTS activists turn themselves into provocative witnesses. In so doing, they seek to force members of Israeli society to take responsibility for political and military policies whose nature and consequences are largely suppressed by mainstream media coverage.

These young former conscripts – both men and women - provide a powerful example of a vernacular critical project that challenges society's most entrenched assumptions and values through a persistent and well-organized effort of speaking out. I analyze this collective act of public enunciation in terms of Foucault's notion of *parrhesia* as a distinctive type of speech activity that in the Israeli context harks back to the highly valorized notion of *dugri* speech. I show that the soldiers' testimonies combine the categories of political *parrhesia* and ethical *parrhesia* distinguished by Foucault, giving rise to an embodied and highly personalized version of what is presented as a public tale. As the soldiers' personal voices merge into a collective generational voice, they emerge in the role of the "victimized victimizers" of the occupation regime, but also in the challenging role of *parrhesiastes* in Israeli society.

In deconstructing the perpetrator-victim binary, and challenging their elders to address the reality of the occupation regime as they know it, BTS activists are both knowingly and unknowingly echoing earlier generations of soldier-witnesses who mobilized their personal experiences and witness positioning in giving voice to their protest, notably Vietnam-era and WWI testimonial projects, but also parallel ones, such as those of veterans against the Iraq war. While generally marginalized and often vilified by mainstream society for their act of *parrhesia*, soldiers questioning the logic and conduct of war have persisted in mounting their vernacular critique and, I would argue, have left an indelible mark on their societies.

In contemplating Israeli straight talk, and the discourse of *Breaking the Silence* more specifically, in relation to Foucault's notion of *parrhesia*, I attempt to consider this localized speech activity within the broader analytical and comparative context provided by Foucault's discussion of *parrhesia* as a vernacular critical practice. At the same time, I attend to the cultural particularities of the Israeli case in the context of late modern protest discourse, in relation to local ways of speaking and in the call for a new blending of the personal and the political through the enactment of the witness role.

Addressing the notion of ethnographic reflexivity, I turn to a discursive practice shared by Foucault and by ethnographers of speaking in presenting their research findings – the linguistic use of native terms - such as *parrhesia* or *dugri* - as a distinctive type of citation associated with the outsider-insider positioning of the ethnographer, which has its own claims to discursive authority and authenticity. I conclude by reflecting on whether studying acts of *parrhesia* is itself a *parrhesiastic* act.

Being aware of “the conduct of the conduct”: a stylized governmentality?

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This paper is conceived as a short elaboration of my PhD research on interactions between families and institutions within the institutional system which takes care of abused and neglected minors. The child welfare system appears as a social services area which reflects and accentuates the main inequalities in US society. The majority of the families affected by the child welfare procedures are female-headed, impoverished, african american and latino households. The way in which social services address their functions is indeed consequential to the kind of social surveillance to which the population is subjected. This can vary depending on the different parts of the city and it is enacted through institutions like public schools, hospitals, and welfare offices, attended in particular by low income communities which in New York coincide with the ones of color. Families and the social justice world express a widespread discontent towards the child welfare system and equate child protective services role in inner city communities to the one performed by the police and the

criminal justice system, especially regarding their abuse of children removal and the inefficiency of parental rehabilitation services, which are mandatory to gain reunification rights.

Foucault described the role of the family as the privileged tool for the government of the population, constituted as an object which governmentality produces through a specific knowledge and administers by means of institutions in charge of the conduct of the conduct (Foucault, 2006). More recently, Nikolas Rose, discussing the relevance of governmentality in the “advanced liberalism” paradigm, established as a precondition for its realization that the family and the individual sphere should be simultaneously assigned to their social duties and that citizens should be instructed by experts in order to assume responsibly their freedom. The paradox of neoliberalism exists in the moment when it criticizes political government as a form of interference on individual freedom but presumes, in view of its very efficiency, that the subjects of government have to be thought in a way in which any difficulty can be diagnosed and cured. (Rose, Miller, 1992).

But the attempt to instill in the population the necessity of self-government fails doubly in the child welfare system case. First because it is denied to them the opportunity to become “experts of themselves” (Rose, 2006), as they lack what other citizens own as rights of freedom, privacy and autonomy. Second, because the attempts of rehabilitation through technologies of the child welfare system take place in a highly conflictual context. The violence of children removal imply a sort of blackmail which invalidates the empowerment program of education on self-government, especially when the reasons for the removal are not clear to parents. Furthermore, the rehabilitative tools, which range from a hyper-medicalization of parents and kids to the parenting skills classes, are mildly incorporated because considered shallow and incapable of coping with a family crisis. What these parents experience is a government through the social typical of welfare strategies (Hyatt, 1995) but exclusively in its punitive aspects. The benefits, which belonged to the liberal tradition and the keynesian approach, declined in particular in New York with the fiscal crisis of the '70 (Brash, 2011), don't exist anymore or are offered in such an ambiguous way that are not perceived as such. What is shown is not the subtle and always hidden articulation of governmentality technologies charged with the conduct of the conduct which should shape the everyday experience of citizenship. In the case of social policies regarding racialized and impoverished minorities the disciplinary device is conceptualized by its subjects as a punitive machine for the undesired classes and as a form of organized lack of justice (Wacquant, 2000). Instead of the rational bureaucrats of the weberian tradition or the pitying social worker of the ethic of compassion, what these parents experience is a welfare system fragmented and dysfunctional, with rehabilitation devices that are not reliable.

The tired and sloppy practice of this rehabilitative bureaucracy it's rather similar to a ritual, which function doesn't rely on its pedagogical message but in its coercive status, which requires an adaptive response to his disciplinary mandate. My research question regards what this “stylised” version of governmentality generates among its participants and which kinds of tactics and strategies are put in place in order to signify and address its social action within the institutional world. Parents perceive indeed to be “less than actual citizens” (Williams, 1992), exactly because they understand the differential modality in which citizenship is shaped and more or less imposed. The conceptions on the damaging nature of the system show how much porous, even in their most bio-political declinations, the boundaries of legitimacy of the governmental project are and how they can generate imaginaries radically antagonistic. Instead of constructing shared and coherent narrations on state functions, the decentralization of welfare and the partial way in which governmentality is applied has come to produce a field of conflictual relationships. They affect not only the order of discourse in child welfare but creates also different modalities of negotiation and contestation. These modalities can assume the shape of strategies or individual tactics (De Certeau, 1984), everyday forms of resistance (Scott, 1985) or structure the base for political and collective claims. This presentation aims to explore the most recent perspectives on governmentality through an ethnographic example which stresses their relevance for social research and their limits, as well as the necessity to contextualize them in specific cultural and historical backgrounds.

What I would like to highlight is how the diversification of governmentality implementation is

structured in gender, class and race and draw attention on the importance of local and situated representations that its subjects construct in order to resist to the project of conduct's regulation.

Narrating Subjects. An ethnography on resistance practices of refugees in the city
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This paper aims to contribute, through the specificity of my research-topic, to the theoretical, epistemological and methodological challenges deriving from Foucault's work. I'm working on the topic of migration in Europe linked to the theme of internal borders' control system, focusing on the borders of legal status of refugees in relation to the urban context of the city. The research fields is set in the cities of Milan and Berlin. According to the Critical Migration Studies and Critical Border Studies, we are witnessing to the phenomenon of de-territorialisation of borders, which has generate several changes on the way in which the categories of people are produced and organized by the national-states: there is no more just the dichotomy citizen/non-citizen, but different levels of citizenship. Therewith is highlighted the action of national-states and other actors involved in the migration's control, creating through their borders different categories of persons¹ (De Genova 2013). Some scholars consider this management of immigration – and the consequent building of the migration's control regime – in term of disciplinary power, according to the foucauldian theory, and they interpret it through the concept of “border Regime” (Mezzadra 2004, 2006, 2011; Andrijasevic, Walters 2010). Other scholars, though remaining within the foucauldian's theoretical framework, have focused furthermore on the agency level, grasping the practices of resistance worked out by the migrants in order to overcome these borders (Vasta 2008). According to Foucault's theory «there are no power relations without resistance» (Foucault 1982), therefore in order to grasp this topic through the lens of power relationships, it is important to take into account both, the disciplinary power of immigration management and borders' control (the structural level), on one hand, and the practices worked out by the subjects in order to resist and overcome these borders (the agency level). This highlight the epistemological challenge on which I'll focus on, i.e. the attempt to overcome the dichotomy between agency and structure. I individuate citizenship as theoretical site of my research that allows me to grasp the interaction between the agency dimension and the structural dimension. This will be reached looking at the power relations between the political actors, involved in the borders' control regime producing the normative frame into which the subjects move, and the social practices implemented by the refugees who possess a temporary legal status, looking at the new spaces of action and possibility they build; «at the heart of the power relationship, and constantly provoking it, are the recalcitrance of the will and the intransigence of freedom» (Foucault, 1982. p.790). This investigation is taking place within the urban context, looking at the city as a site through witch social relations are produced and reproduced, i.e. a site in which there are various social groups while being outside the City² still waged and won struggles for the rights to the city (Isin 2008; Harvey 2008; Marcuse 2010). According to Foucault «the strategy of struggles constitutes a frontier for the relationship of power» (Foucault 1982., p.794), and the city is a strategic frontier zone for those «who lacks the power», the outsiders: it is a new frontier zone in which different actors meet, but where there are no clear rules of engagement (Sassen 2012). The fields works are based in Milan and Berlin. I intend to take these two cities into consideration as case-studies through which this phenomenon can be grasped, applying a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995). According to the theoretical frame of Border regime, by applying the conventional comparative approach the risk is to consider this issue in a monolithic and static way. Instead, research in this field have demonstrated that multi-sited ethnography can be a useful methodology, in order to understand the issue of European border regime as a space of negotiating practices (Tsianos, Hess, Karakajali 2009). To follow the movements and the trajectories of the subjects can be useful in order to highlight this new fragmented nature of the sovereignty in Europe, in which different political authorities and actors are involved in the redefinition of borders and citizenship. In order to grasp this topic, the

qualitative methodology is employed, because of the focus on the processuality of the interaction between refugees and the normative and political context in which they move. The main research methodology used is ethnography, in particular the tools of participant observation, shadowing and in-depth interviews. In this presentation, I will face with the question about the ways in which today ethnographic practices still succeed in making operatives some of the conceptual tools offered by Foucault. I am working in both cities with two associations of volunteers (Naga in Milan and Kub in Berlin), which deal with legal, social and psychological supports for migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. This work with the associations gives me access to the research field, and above all the everyday work in the associations allows me to build a close relationship of trust and confidence with the protagonists of the research. Working together with refugees allows me to consider them not as the object of my research, instead as subjects of a narration; qualitative methodology aims at providing an emergent and recursive interpretation of processes, through a dialogical exchange between the observer and the observed (Melucci 1998). I problematize the methodological issue of the relationship between the researcher and the research's subjects, according to the challenges addressed by Foucault's texts. In *Society must be defended* (Foucault 1975), the author argues that in order to understand power relations, a discourse on neutrality and totality hasn't to be done, but it is necessary to start from a position inside power relations to give voice to subjects who live in the shadows and who haven't any rights – “knowledges from below” or “subjugated knowledges”. This type of research, since it investigates power relations, can't exclude a total integration of the researcher into the camp and into the dynamics of relationships. The relationship between the researcher and protagonists has never been definitive, there is a continuous redefinition of relation boundaries, a “game” in which roles were never fixed.

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The undocumented migrants' health rights as an issue of the relationship between governance and personal biographies

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This paper is about the relations between governance's strategies and personal biographies, in the context of a fundamental right: the healthcare.

My principal theoretical references were Michel Foucault's considerations about governance, as a set of strategies direct to the population's management; Foucault thought that these strategies use to adopt discourses and instruments brought directly from the society (Foucault 1976, 2004). Governance in fact is not an imposed power, because it operates among groups and individuals, that, using their agency, fight or instead take part, to the governance's strategies (Ong 2005, Fassin 2005, Portes, DeWind 2007).

I decided to carry out the ground research in two voluntary consulting rooms in Milan; those places were the Naga association and the Opera San Francesco consulting room. The research began during the spring 2002, and finished at the end of the 2013.

People who attend those voluntary consulting rooms are really vulnerable, cause of the economic crisis, but also for some polices choices' consequences. Polices actually are governance's devices, composed by discourses, legislations, messages that, adopting a neutral and abstract language, are able to spread identifications and to influence the personal attitudes (Shore, Wright 1997, Nugent 2004).

Among the polices I analyzed, there is also the undocumented migrants' health defense; this legislation contains some significant gaps that are the cause of her partial application, especially at the regional context (Scevi 2010). As a consequence of the legislation, an undocumented migrant is interdicted to some fundamental health services, such as primary health. Moreover, it is generally tolerated that public hospitals do not applied correctly the regional law; in this way, hospitals prevent patients from the availing of secondary health services, and sometimes from the emergency ones.

As I could observe during my research, this set of polices pushes voluntary associations and civic society to supply the public institutions in managing very important functions, such as health rights. Is a long time that in Italy public institutions and civic society cooperate in organizing social services (Madama 2010); however, this kind of collaboration is completely different from the present situation. In fact, nowadays we are in the face of the total delegation of undocumented migrants' health rights, and this transformation improves undocumented migrants' vulnerability (Schiaccia 2011, Dworkin 2010, Cassese 2005). This extra-vulnerability is a consequence of the civic society organization, because the associations act sporadically and not in compliance with the formal rule (Magatti 2005, Taylor 1996).

Furthermore, as I noticed during the ground research, a great number of patients go to the consulting rooms impulsively, although they have the access to the hospital by the law. Acting in this way, the undocumented patients are legitimizing the strategies direct to their exclusion from the public health system.

At the Naga and the OSF consulting rooms, in addition to the participating observation, I collected a great number of narrative interviews; those instruments where useful in order to analyze the connection between social interaction, self-representation and common sense (Lakoff, Johnson 1980). Narration actually is the result of interpersonal relationships and social construction; furthermore, narration allows people to give a significant to their experiences and actions. For these reasons, during the narrative analysis, I focused my attention on metaphors, this because I think that every person interprets her social role in a complex and prismatic way, and metaphors are a truthful representation of this process (Morgan 1999, Tomelleri 2010)

Patients actually used to refer to their relationship with the voluntary doctor using two metaphors. Some people were concentrating in receiving a quick and efficient service, which make them able to come back to their job as soon as possible. They interpreted their migration only for the aim to achieve a job and for this reason, their body is described as a machine direct to the production (Sassen 1998, Sayad 1982).

Other patients instead expressed an idea of the medical treatment that doesn't include only the organic cure, but also the listening, the solidarity and most of all, the personal recognition (Honneth 2002). For these people going to the consulting room represented an occasion in order to attend a safe and comfortable environment and to recover, thanks to the professionally and the helpfulness of the doctor, their personal dignity (Caillé 1998, Good 2006).

As I noticed during the participating observation, the voluntary consulting rooms too, interpreted their role and the relationships with the public health system in a specific modality. The OSF consulting room is an efficient and free treatment service, for these reasons it is in competition with the public system. The Naga consulting room instead represent himself firstly as an association, and it takes a dialectic attitude in the relationship with the institution, in promoting political complains and finally, in contesting the existing situation.

Therefore, people I interviewed, as well as the organization I observed, acted and represented themselves in different ways; in some cases they carried out a collaboration with the main governance's strategies, which were direct to the undocumented migrants' exclusion from the health services (Fassin 2005, Ong 2005). In other cases, people and associations operated in opposition to the governance's strategies, in fact they promoted a reconfiguration of the medical service, which would consist not only in prescribing organic treatments. These people and associations were promoting an idea of the cure as an instrument that, thanks to the personal recognition, is able to develop new relationships of solidarity (Sennet 1999, Quaranta 2006).

In conclusion, the ethnographic research allowed me to examine deepen the relationship between governance's strategies and personal agency. The analysis of the narrations collected by the research lead to a deconstruction of the policies that in Italy manage the undocumented migrants' health rights and make possible to elaborate a complex image of the existing connections between discursive practices, self-representation and social action.

In cerca della Rivoluzione: il processo di democratizzazione tunisino tra pratiche di libertà e pratiche di liberazione

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Non voglio dire che la liberazione, o questa o quella forma di liberazione, non esistano: quando un popolo colonizzato cerca di liberarsi dal suo colonizzatore, si tratta certamente di una pratica di liberazione, in senso stretto. Ma sappiamo benissimo che in simili casi, peraltro precisi, la pratica di liberazione non basta a definire le pratiche di libertà che saranno successivamente necessarie affinché quel popolo, quella società e quegli individui possano definire per se stessi le forme ammissibili ed accettabili della loro esistenza o della società politica. (Foucault, 2005, p. 235)

Il brano di Foucault è stato il punto di partenza epistemologico per poter affrontare una ricerca etnografica in un contesto in transizione: la Tunisia. A distanza di tre anni dalla destituzione di Ben Ali, la Tunisia ha avviato un processo di trasformazione politica dagli esiti incerti. Da una parte è stata promulgata una nuova carta costituzionale, frutto di un lungo processo di negoziazione politica iniziato all'indomani della rivoluzione e conclusosi nel gennaio 2014; dall'altra sono moltissime le questioni ancora aperte, soprattutto rispetto alla giustizia transizionale e alle prospettive di normalizzazione del paese. Gli eventi recenti si inseriscono in un quadro teorico in divenire. Il paper intende decostruire, in modo genealogico, le ideologie connesse alle teorie della rivoluzione, e cercare di capire come descrivere e interpretare gli eventi tunisini. Questo secondo passaggio verrà sviluppato in accordo con le definizioni offerte da Michel Foucault, connettendo da una parte le pratiche di liberazione che hanno portato alla fuga del dittatore Ben Ali, dall'altra le c.d. "pratiche di libertà", ossia tutte quelle azioni messe in atto a seguito della rottura con il passato autoritario che stanno caratterizzando il post-autoritarismo in Tunisia. Attraverso l'uso degli strumenti propri della sociologia qualitativa (interviste in profondità ed osservazione etnografica), il paper cercherà di verificare le possibili interpretazioni degli eventi, soffermandosi in particolare sull'utilizzo del processo costituente nel percorso di transizione democratica. La carta costituzionale tunisina, infatti, ha rappresentato una fortissima cartina tornasole delle aspettative normative dei cittadini, della difficoltà reale a scardinare le pratiche di violenza politica presenti nel contesto oggetto di studio e delle difficili contraddizioni del paese, tra identità islamica e modernista, tra spinta mondialista e passato post-coloniale, tra afflato democratico e riproduzione delle pratiche di corruzione e di oppressione.

In tal senso, l'obiettivo ambizioso è quello di cercare di delineare le forme di soggettività sviluppatesi nel percorso di liberazione (dagli ultimi momenti della dittatura sino all'apertura di un processo di transizione costituzionale a seguito degli eventi della Kasbah 1 e 2) e nelle pratiche istituzionali di libertà (elezioni/assemblea costituente). A questa analisi verrà affiancata quella dei dispositivi di sapere/potere messi in campo da "le système" e le forme di disciplinamento seguite al cambio di regime politico.

MIGRATION PROCESSES

Chair: Gabriella Alberti, University of Leeds, G.Alberti@leeds.ac.uk

Friday 6th 9.00-12.00 – 8 SA

Migrant work in Thiesi, Sardinia. Some ethnographic data

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When addressing the issue of the presence of migrants and their placement in the labour market, there are two predominant positions emerging in public debate: on the one hand, it proposes the idea that migrants fit in areas where 'we' do not want to work anymore, covering occupational areas that have remained vacant as a result of social and cultural changes of the last decades; on the other hand, the emphasis is on competition between migrants and 'natives': low unionisation, greater willingness to flexible hours and lower wages, on the legal blackmail, would make the first more 'attractive' for entrepreneurs interested in reducing cost management.

The complex and multifaceted reality of migrant labour is obscured by extremely polarised narratives, depending on the political colour of the person who proposes. Both terms of the dichotomy between 'work that we no longer want to do' and 'they steal our work' contain a grain of truth: there are areas, such as care for the elderly, which have become real niches, occupied almost exclusively by migrants, as on the other hand there are others, such as the wholesale and retail trade are extremely competitive.

The ethnographic data that I propose in this paper, collected in 2012 during the field research for the dissertation in cultural anthropology, go in a different direction, far more articulated, in which the simplified dichotomies give way to the multiplicity of trajectories exhausted in daily life.

I focused on Moroccan origin migrants living in Thiesi, a village in the north of Sardinia, about 3000 people and interested by migration flows in the entrance from almost thirty years, looking through the tools of ethnography, particularly observation and interviews, to highlight the constant use of relational networks to facilitate entry into the labour market. The reflection of Network Analysis gave ample space to these issues: some authors, Mark Granovetter of all people, have placed the emphasis on the action of those who called 'weak ties', while others, such as Margaret Grieco, have focused on the role of family networks. Both compete in the search for employment opportunities and contribute to defining social capital available to the parties, making untenable any economic determinism. As Karl Polanyi argued, the economic dimension is fully embedded in society, and the analysis of the social networks in access to work shows the insolubility of this link.

It should, however, make a preliminary clarification of methodology regarding my 'gender' position in the field. As is known, the gender relations in Islam are quite rigidly codified, and I could see a near-total compliance between the dictates of the Maliki school, dominant in Morocco, and practices of migrants. The presence of a male relative has always been a prerequisite for the performance of the talks: in some cases I still managed to bring out the voices and narratives of women, while in others I was precluded this possibility, making the ethnographic data strongly biased towards the male perspective. It must be said that the spaces that I have been foreclosed, partly because of the brevity of my stay in the field, are somehow rebalanced from those to which I had access. Frequent meetings with Jawad Abdellah, a friendship which binds me before conducting the research, hardly could have come about so freely if I was a woman, as well as the occasional chat in the street with Kamil and Mohammed Mansour or Mahroufi Amsif.

Access to employment is not mediated exclusively by the action of relational networks. There are also official channels to which migrants, men and women, do not hesitate to resort. It is active in Thiesi a door, the CESIL, which has the function of facilitating access to employment for disadvantaged people residing in the town. The service is not, therefore, directed exclusively to immigrants but to the weaker sections of the society. I had the chance to interview the service

manager who gave me some information on the type of user that is just for them and the type of work that has proposed to them. The action of CESIL was however relatively marginal compared to that of the networks, which remain the most frequently used channel.

I'll divide the data that I present in two separate parts, one concerning the working male and the other female. The choice of this division is purely exhibition and will not in any way suggest a clear break. Migrants of both sexes contribute in shaping the family strategies, redefining in some cases, the gender balance on which rested the family before migration.

As for the men's work, it should be recorded in the absence of a real specialisation: there are some areas, such as street vendors, who see a clear predominance of migrant workers, but it is often temporary work while waiting for other opportunities. Many of the respondents have started in this field, and then, through the network of relationships that they have been able to build in Thiesi, get in sectors such as industrial production of cheese, occupied by residents. It also showed a strong disposition to mobility. Almost all the migrants interviewed have also made significant shifts for work in Sardinia and in the rest of Italy or Europe.

With regard to the employment of women, less than half of women of working age had, at the time of the search, a job outside the home. It is difficult to say how much weight has, in these choices, personal will rather than respect of the habit. It should be recorded in the balance of family made a change from the context of migration, with a greater female participation in income compared to what happened in Morocco. It must be said, also, that the women interviewed have a social capital less developed than men. This, combined with job prospects concentrated in the service of personal care, makes the female labour market strongly geared towards specialisation.

Migration to Norway and its challenge to juggle with Work and Life.

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Last 20 years brings big changes in family life in Poland. The number of divorces is growing the birth rate is declining. People go abroad for shorter or longer work/life experience. They emigrate. Analyzing couples and marriages living in Gdansk in Poland and in Stavanger in Norway I show tendencies of everyday-life choices made by men and women. They deal with domestic duties division. They deal with cultural differences. They see other couples implementing different system. They try to reach Work Life Balance. They compare themselves to other couples (Beck, Beck-Gernsheim 2011).

In my article I would like to show **how** modern couple/marriage juggle with Work Life Balance, how it re-products behaviors and how it functions struggling with the ideas of equality.

The study I am conducting consists of 280 in-depth interviews realized in Poland and in Norway among Polish, Mixed and Norwegian Couples. Each year there are both joint and individual in-depth interviews made according to the methodology of Jean Claude Kaufmann (*comprehensive in-depth interview*).

The main idea of our project is to observe what happens with work life balance, marriage practices, reproductive behavior and division of parental and domestic duties when marriages from non-egalitarian countries (such as Poland) are entering an egalitarian and gender-equality oriented society (such as Norway).

Our research shows the tendencies and obstacles of change of domestic gender roles. The change has already begun with globalization process of family life. Emigration can cause or/and encourage the change. As Ulrich Beck and Barbara Beck-Gernsheim write on the example of migrants, nowadays both men and women try to establish new inter-gender relationship pattern to juggle with work and life (*reflective negotiations* - Beck, Beck-Gernsheim 2011). This pattern is been observed under the frame of our study in Respondents households in Poland and in Norway.

Ethnography of the street in Reggio Emilia. Prostitutions and migrations.
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My research is focused on the relationship between street prostitution and Romanian migration in the city of Reggio Emilia. The research was carried out between July 2010 and January 2012 within the CE.R.CO Doctoral School of the University of Bergamo.

The field work took place in Reggio Emilia (a city of 170.000 inhabitants in Emilia Romagna) and it was structured in the night time on the Via Emilia from Modena to Parma. As I was an active observer with the street support unit of Rosemary project of the Municipality of Reggio Emilia (a project supporting victims of trafficking and exploitation), and I interviewed and dealt with direct participants and some "preferential informers" (police officers, judges, volunteers, doctors).

The ethnographic survey which has been conducted among Romanian migrants working in street prostitution allowed me to understand the importance of the political and economic changes Romania faced in recent years.

Since Romania joined the European Union, the perception of Romanian girls involved in street prostitution has increased, and at the same their involvement in projects of hospitality and protection for victims of trafficking and exploitation provided for by art. 18 of the Turco-Napolitano Act (Immigration Act no. 286 of 1998) has decreased.

This situation should lead to consider how really was the condition of clandestinity, rather than the "slave of the prostitution market" term, in which the direct participants did not recognize themselves at all and how the term "victim of trafficking" might be unsuitable to describe exhaustively the heterogeneity of the situations it has been used for (Andrijasevic, 2004). As my research suggests, as well as the work of several authors (Malucelli, 2002; Carchedi, 2004; Beccucci and Garosi 2008; CPE, 2012), the willingness of the women who agree to undertake a migration project in order to work in the sex market is often the main point, despite of the risks and difficulties they are going to encounter. I believe it is necessary in order to understand this phenomenon, to consider street prostitution as a "boarder", as a space where violence, exploitation and stigmatization can coexist with creative possibilities and individual actions (Daas and Poole 2004 hooks1 1998) even in a "liminal" conditions and "on the edges", in the "borderlands" seen as border spaces , not only geographical but also symbolic ones (Viazzo, 2007 Van Houtum, Van Naerssen, 2002).

Considering Romania as a "fringe" of the European Union, not just from a geographical point of view, but mostly as its socio-economical situation (Cingolani, 2009; Perrotta 2011; Bag 2011), in my analysis I underlined how the change of the "geopolitical fringe "the European Union, made of the entrance of Romania in the EU, is also defined by a change in the national origin of migrant girls working in a different socio-spatial fringe, represented by street prostitution in Italy.

The practice of prostitution away from their local communities, is a strategy often used to protect their social identity in the migration context (Segre, 2000; Sanders, 2004; Tabet, 2004; Mai, 2009b; Chimenti, 2010), by avoiding the impact of the stigma, and by relegating the 'social death' in a community where the social identity is expendable, perceived as less important than the identity in the place of origin . Identitarian transnationalism allows to sacrifice stigmatized identities in Italy to save the representation of successful migrants, which is expressed in the ability to maintain their own family, to start economic activities, to show consumer goods as an expression of a supposed material well-being and social success (Cingolani, 2009) and also to adopt illicit attitudes in the context of immigration (Perrotta 2011).

The part of the research carried out during the trial in the Courthouse, and the use of legal acts (including wiretapping) as a source, showed how, in this specific transnational migration, the Romanian men engaged with these girls often have an important organizational and logistical role, by bringing out feelings and social behaviours in which complicity intersect with violence and exploitation, which are beyond the imaginary label of victim and perpetrator the common representation would reduce (Beccucci and Garosi, 2008), and by recognizing a decisive role to representations of gender, femininity and sexuality in the implementation of the migration project

(Andrijasevic, 2010).

The relationship between global migration flows, the push and pull factors related to the female gender associate migration for sex work to those defined by other professional activities, generally carried out by women, such as domestic workers, caregivers for the elderly or the 'nannies' (Malucelli, 2002; Sassen, 2004; Agustin, 2007;).

For this reason migration for sex work can not be understood within a single theory that explains the dynamics and functionings, but on the contrary, it is essential to analyze the factors of push and pull under both economic and socio-cultural point of views, transnational relational networks, the status of closure of international borders, the individual desires and family plans, as well as considering how these factors can be combined to concretely shape different biographical-migratory paths. (Agustin, 2007, 2006a, 2006b; Andrijasevic , 2004).

NEW ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES ON ITALY'S SOUTHERN QUESTION(S)

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Saturday 7th 9.00-12.00 – Room 8 SA**

The conditions of the residency of immigrant farm hand workers in the countryside of the South. The cases of the Piana of Gioia Tauro and the Capitanata

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The analysis of the dynamics of migration in the South of Italy stands out in the broader context of the transformation of the rural world, i.e. social relations and territorial spaces related to agricultural production. Through an ethnographic approach, the aim of this paper is to discuss the conditions of living of the migrant farm hand workers 'resident' in dilapidated structures, such as old abandoned houses, abandoned factories or silos for the storage of oil. These conditions resemble the experience of the proletariat in large industrial cities in the mid-nineteenth century, as denounced by the social novel and by the first socio-demographic surveys. The paper intends to make specific reference to the southern rural areas of Southern Italy, because there a large migrant population is forced to live in degraded environments and promiscuously, with dramatic consequences from the point of view of health (tuberculosis and alcoholism afflicting a lot of people under 30). Better to say, the foreign farm hand worker lives in rural camps where he interacts only with fellow countrymen with whom he shares the functions necessary for survival (from cooking to washing) even the general conditions are not properly human (no electricity and water). For these reasons, this paper aims to reflect on the experience of life and social practices of immigrants who live and work in the countryside of the Plain of Gioia Tauro and the of Capitanata. More specifically, these are the territories of Rosarno and San Ferdinando in the province of Reggio Calabria and Rignano Garganico in the province of Foggia. Since long time the province of Reggio Calabria lives an alarming humanitarian emergency. In Rosarno is located one of the largest Italian tent city that, year after year, it hosts thousands of North African migrants in search of work: It is a tent city without water and proper sanitation, no light, no management, really abandoned to its fate. Although the tent city cannot accommodate more than 430 people, last year over two thousand African seasonal migrant worker have lived there. Given that this year is expected a similar situation, there is a real risk, both humanitarian and social. With regard to the province of Foggia, this paper focuses on Rignano Garganico where, for over 15 years, there is a large tent city, commonly referred to as "the big ghetto". In this ghetto live permanently 300/400 people that during the summer become 1500/1600. Since the distance of the ghetto from the nearest town is 15 kilometers, migrants are literally isolated and forced to live in poor conditions that often generate conflict. Through the comparison between dissimilar case, this paper raises the problem of socio-cultural and architectural regeneration of this kind of rural areas. To do this, it takes the cue from a project of eco village. Financed by Puglia's Regional Government, and planned by a net of nonprofit organizations with the widest trade union organization for land workers (FLAI-CGIL), its aims is to create conditions for a social sustainability. The salient point lies in the fact that these houses will be built by immigrants who will inhabit them. In particular, these houses will be designed according ecological rules, not only with regard to solar energy, but also from the point of food: each house will have a farmland, so that this project takes example from agrarian urbanism approach.

What does justify the existence of an informal labor market? The case of agricultural workers in the “transformed littoral belt”

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The aim of this presentation is to explore the concept of informality, starting from the empirical material gathered through an ethnographic research concerning the agricultural labor market in the province of Ragusa (South-eastern Sicily).

The attempt to investigate the category of informality, taking as the starting point the web of meanings produced by men and women daily performing it, aims at providing an analytical perspective that tries to look at the South of Italy through a Southern point of view, or, to recall Laura Mulvey (1975), through a Southern gaze.

Generally, the narratives and the representations of the “South” appear to be discursively constructed through a series of the dichotomous oppositions with what are considered to be the distinctive features of the “North” of Italy. So, in the “professional” political language, in the technical and scientific discourse as in the everyday conversations, the binary North/ South is constantly reproduced, underlining the peculiarity of the two areas: the representation of a dependent and unproductive “South” is constructed in opposition with an image of a leading and dynamic “North”; the lack of civic-mindedness in the South is specular to the representation of a North of Italy where everything works properly; and so on, for a great number of dichotomies. Within this discursive frame, informality assumes a certain relevance because it represents one of the aspects that, more than others, tends to culturally connote the “Southernness”, since it is usually contrasted with an higher formalization of the economic system in the North of Italy: the capacity of “making it”, the ability to bypass and manipulate State regulations, various forms of cronyism are maintained to be “constitutive” features of an alleged “Southernness”. Within this analysis, to look at the informality thorough a Southern gaze implies the attempt to not assume it as a “typical” feature of an essentialized Southern identity, but to reconsider it as a frame constructed in a discursive opposition with the “Northernness”.

This reflection does not try simply to highlight the way in which the concept of informality affects the definition of a Southern identity; it also tries to look at how the category of informality could be manipulated in order to redefine the apparently neutral space of the economy and of the labor market in the South of Italy. Informality, often “naturalized” and assumed as a matter of fact, represents actually the cultural premise on which economic actions are predicated, namely the *melieu* within and through which actors organize their choices, their preferences and their needs.

How does informality configure? Which specific set of meanings assume, in the everyday life, the concepts of formal and informal, fair and unfair, legal and illegal? And in which ways do these concepts orient local actors’ economic behavior? In order to reply to these questions, the current analysis tries to investigate the cultural premises, the general criteria of evaluation of the economic actions, the mechanism through which it is possible to reach economic agreements, the processes of justifications; so it attempts to shed light on the general principles that allow an informal labor market to exists and to be maintained, becoming socially legitimized and justified (Zelizer, 2011; Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006).

The peculiar context of the agriculture in the province of Ragusa, characterized by a greenhouse (so de-seasonalized) system of production, constitutes an interesting case-study to highlight some of these mechanisms. The agricultural labor market, affected by high level of informality in several Italian regions (look, for instance, at some estimates made by ISTAT, 2008) shows also in Sicily a consistent level of irregularities. The frequent lack of job contracts, as well as the irregularities for what concern the farmworkers’ tax positions, make it possible to observe and take part, on the field, to a great amount of daily negotiations, during which people define the “fair” amount of wages, the “fair” length of a working day, the “fair” amount of tax contributions to be paid at INPS, so the “fair” level of informality.

Moreover, the widespread presence of foreign workforce within the agricultural sector, especially constituted by Tunisian and Rumanian laborers, add another element of complexity to the

North/South debate we are dealing with: if “Southernness” is constructed in opposition with a “Northernness”, what happens in a specific context when the element of non-“Italianess” is widely present? Informality tends to assume different connotations according to whom, Italian or foreigner, performs it; this set of meanings will be the object of this investigation.

To deal with these theoretical reflections, it was selected to explore the field employing qualitative methodologies. During the ethnographic research, realized between January and July 2013, the observation of the urban areas where the majority of Tunisian farmworkers lives (especially in the municipalities of Vittoria and Santa Croce Camerina), was realized together with a “rural” ethnography conducted mainly in the countryside of the so called “transformed littoral belt”, where the majority of Rumanian workers resides. Moreover, in order to have the possibility to understand the inner dynamics of the workplaces, I conducted around two months of participant observation, being hired inside several agricultural companies. Accordingly to the circumstances emerged in the field, in some cases the owners of the firms were partially informed about the purpose of my presence there, while in other cases they did not. Over the second part of my fieldwork, I “shadowed” in order to follow a broker in his own work environments, namely inside the various fruit and vegetable markets of the area. Finally, I spent several hours inside a trade union office and a medical ambulatory that provides health assistance for foreign citizens. Moreover, during the period of permanence on the field, it was possible to conduct around 100 among in-depth interviews and informal colloquies, addressing agricultural workers, greenhouses owners, packinghouse employers and employees, nurseries managers, several typologies of brokers working at the general markets, public administration members, trade unionists, employees of the *direzione territoriale del lavoro* (the office in charge of controlling the regularity of the employment), agronomists, priests and volunteers of different sort.

Throughout the presentation, using interviews and field-notes extracts, the realm of informality in the local labor market is going to be investigated, focusing especially on two types of examples. First of all, introducing the case of the existence of a “black market” to buy and sell informally agricultural daily contributions and resident permits (for non-communitarian migrants), the attempt will be to investigate the definitions and the borders between what is considered to be regular or irregular, legitimate or illegitimate. Moreover, the attempt will be to explore how these concepts tend to shape the opportunity to access and to be stuck in a quasi-informal labor market, and how they tend to influence working conditions.

Secondly, the presentation will focus on the negotiations regarding a “fair wage”, exploring how the definition of a “fair” labor price varies consistently according – for instance – to workers’ gender and national belonging. These reflections will allow to restate how labor market is strongly oriented and shaped by cultural and normative conventions, both in a local context, as the one under analysis, as in a global dimension.

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The weaves and the fabrics. Transformations of the territory and global production processes in the province of Naples

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High demographic density, urban disorder, environmental decay, irrational use of resources, informal labour and widespread illegality are all elements that seem to inevitably characterize the city of Naples and, at the same time, stigmatize its population. This discourse, which is

continuously reproduced within the city itself, splits Naples in two completely different cities: on the one hand a legitimate one that is inhabited by social elites and on the other hand an illegitimate city that is populated by the "urban plebs" (Dal Lago, Quadrelli 2003). These latter, in particular, are often identified as one of the main causes of the city's backwardness and accused of being an obstacle to its transformation into a fully modern city. However, this stigmatizing mechanism seems to be absolutely functional to the economic structure of Naples. Even though it is often portrayed as a "pre-modern" city, which is in constant decline and isolated from contemporary global cities (Sassen 2003), Naples is also marked by several aspects that belong to extremely modern cities: in particular, the continuous process that turns economic and political relations into symbolic and cultural boundaries (Petrillo 2014). Moreover, flexible specialization, increasing subcontracting and interdependence between formal and informal activities characterize "new" forms of production (Scott 2011, Harvey 2010), Naples and South Italy contribute to production and fine-tuning of a model of globalization (Petrillo 2013) and they seem to be paradigm for the analysis of contemporary spatial, social and economic structures.

In the 1960s, after the post-war reconstruction, the subsequent sack of Naples and the uncontrolled urbanization (Allum 2001, 2003), some programmes of decongestion of the metropolitan area were implemented and processes of economic reconversion and reorganization were promoted (Belli 1976, Cardillo 2006; Vitale, De Majo 2008). This transformation entailed the relocation of industrial activities and houses in the inner part of the city, a process that was favoured by the earthquake of 1980. This last event, in particular, allowed an acceleration of a massive outflow of population and economic activities from the city took place and it went hand in hand with the urban, social and economic transformation of a wide area of the province. In this urban area, it is possible to observe the post-fordist transformation of Naples.

The reorganization of production processes has brought about an increasing fragmentation of production processes and allowed enterprises to subcontract part of the production to companies that do not ensure adequate safety standards for the workers. Moreover, the relocation of industrial activities and outside of the borders of the city seem to be a continuous search for new places and new labour market (Biondi 2008). The existence of insufficiently unionized workers and the opportunities offered by the labor market (extensive unemployment and underemployment) reveal to be true "local resource"

Many of these features characterize the apparel industry, which is one of the most important economic sectors of the city. The spatial configuration and the reorganization of the production dynamics of the apparel supply chain have produced a marked polarization between big companies that are fully integrated in national and international markets and small firms that operate as invisible sweatshops.

In recent years the clothing and footwear industry in the metropolitan area of Naples have continued to develop through a few great brands (fashion product) and plenty of medium, small and tiny factories well connected to local and social context. Furthermore, there are companies that impose themselves on the market with a low-cost goods (basic product), recording a strong economic growth that makes them the most advanced and competitive businesses in the area. In many cases, the companies take advantage of a network of small and medium local enterprises and also of foreign production companies, as well as national and international sales network.

Moreover, the interdependence between formal and informal activities characterize the apparel industry. The boundaries between formal and informal economies appear blurred and constantly redefined. There are not only "extreme" forms of informality and irregularity, but it is possible to observe the existence of "mild" and "hybrid" forms, nevertheless highly pervasive, strong and productive.

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The New Epical Southern Question's Narrative of the Neo-meridional Movements on Facebook

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When Cesare Lombroso Museum was inaugurated in November 2009, a “No Lombroso” cartel of Southern Political Association moved to protest over the opening “Horror Museum”. Brigand Giuseppe Villella's skull – the staple of the museum's collection that Lombroso used as evidence of “atavistic born criminal” – is asked to be repatriated for burial in native town of Motta Santa Lucia (CZ). As a result, Villella became a symbol of the colonial violence in the South of Italy after the Piedmontese conquer of the Two Sicily Kingdom. This paper focuses on the data collected during my fieldwork in the online context of the protest against the Lombroso Museum, centered in the Facebook group of No Lombroso Committee, which connects the website of the Neo-meridional movements. A new epical narrative about the Southern Question is emerging from popular artistic performances that go viral on internet and are ritually shared among the participants of Neo-meridional social network.

Can the *cafoni* speak? A postcolonial reading of the struggles of Southern “uncivil” society

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Starting from a reconsidering of the civil society/political society Gramscian dichotomy adopted by the “Subaltern Studies” to frame urban struggles in post-colonial contexts, this contribution intends to test the hypothesis of a possible usage of the same “toolbox” also within the heart of the Old Continent. The work develops methodologically from the intersection of the features of Partha Chatterjee's “popular politics” category with the analogies existing between three different forms of struggle by excluded and marginalized Southern Italian social groups, object of a specific comparative field research: the “organized unemployed” movement in Naples, the movement fighting for housing rights in Rome, the movement of migrants and refugees in Caserta. These movements, like the street vendors' committees in Calcutta or the squatters in Mumbai, aim at “building popular organization resolving collective controversies”, not only to claim a universal right for all, but also, and above all, to claim an exceptional treatment for the members of the movement itself.

To disclose social invisibility in order to extract an informal channel of identification and of institutional negotiation capable of meeting ‘the emergency’ of our unfulfilled needs, beyond the acknowledged procedures of legal formalism and civil society: subordination lies exactly in this ability to recognise the centrality of the emergency paradigm in government strategies of management and control of the population and the subsequent attempt to bend it to its own interests, without undermining its foundations. From this perspective, in the breaking of the citizenry space, the systematic definition of ‘politics of the people’ allows us to contextualize the subaltern struggles more efficiently, fully embracing the transition from an idea of democracy based on the principle of popular sovereignty to an idea of democratic politics shaped by governmentality.

Military testing and training activities in the Interagency Polygon of Salto Quirra: risk media construction

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The military Inter-force center Salto Quirra (PISQ), was created in 1956 in Sardinia, is the largest Italian military base and one of the most important experimental military areas and training centers of Europe. The base is settled in a space of about 12000 hectares (47 square miles) of land controlled by the Italian Ministry of Defense, located in the isolated sub-region of Ogliastro. Since the sixties, the base hosted a mix of activities, like missile aerospace research and testing of new materials for public and private centers, for the NASA and the European Space Agency Ariane project, associated with more conventional military training activities, including simulated electronic warfare for Nato forces and allies. The inter-force area incorporates public land of 6 municipalities, accessible from the town of Perdasdefogu, and at sea, Capo San Lorenzo, in the municipality of Villaputzu. Despite the alarm for public health, because of the military activities, the town of Perdasdefogu holds the Guinness World Records of longevity for having the world's oldest combined age in a family (nine elderly, the oldest reaching 105 and the youngest of 78).

Decades after, in which the opportunity to be employed in the military base has represented a good alternative to the subsistence farming, the effects of military activities on the natural environment and on people's health raised several concerns.

The Balkans syndrome, correlated to the training activities carried out at the PISQ, has been one of the first causes of alarm among the local population. Local veterinarians became quite concerned with the high concentration of animals born with physical defects, which was associated with the incidence of lymphomas and leukemias between the military and civilians living in the area. These cases called the attention of the Prosecutor's Office.

In 2011, the finding of a large dumping area of hazardous waste, due to the destruction of old weaponry and waste), prompted an investigation which uncovered that 167 military personnel were affected by different typologies of cancer, and allowed the exhumation of the corpses of 17 shepherds, who had bred cattle in the military area and died by leukemia and lymphoma. The laboratory analysis found evidence of toxic amount of thorium. Following these evidences the Prosecutor's Office ordered, in 2011, the closure of the military area. The attention of the local and national media quickly labeled the new case as the Quirra' Syndrome.

This research is part of a larger transdisciplinary project within the counterfactual analysis of the military activities in Salto di Quirra: its aim is to highlight the role of local media in the construction of risk perception. The study examines the articles published in the newspaper *L'Unione Sarda* (the most widely read newspaper in the territory of the municipalities neighboring the military base) from January 1956 to 15 August 2013. Through the mix method of quantitative and Ethnographic Content Analysis (Altheide, 1996) we have examined the media construction of risk and military activity. Furthermore, through the inter-relation between the creation of the database, coding, and analysis - interpretation we intended to highlight what kind of frames creates the press, which narratives dominates, which social actors are related to risk, which impacts emphasizes and which minimizes or denies. The integration of quantitative methods and those of Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) showed a different communicative frame in which was possible to grasp the media construction and media logic of local press related to the Military Base of Salto Quirra. They represent moments chronologically defined by communication style and by emerging theme that frames the general perception of the military base. We identified 4 periods: 1) 1956-1968 that might be defined as *modernity versus tradition*; 2) 1969-1980, here the *nuclear risk and the antiwar movements* characterized this phase; 3) 1981-2000 and displays for the first time the link between the military activity and risk; 4) 2000-2013, covers the period that goes *from the Balkans syndrome to Quirra Syndrome*. Each period is typified by an emerging issue, and shows clearly the concentration of information in the last period (2001-2013): here risk, health and judiciary investigation result to be strictly bound together.

RHYTHM IN SOCIAL INTERACTION

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Friday 6th 16.00-19.00 – 2 SA

Circularity and everyday life under the "Clock Tower": Rhythm analysis in practice

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From the theoretical reflection of Lefebvre related to space, rhythm and daily life, the following paper is an exercise in "implementation" of rhythm-analysis which invites to questioning about daily rituals and the definition of the social space as semantic and signifying practice.

Cartagena - city of the Colombian Caribbean, World Heritage Site and the first tourist destination of this Latin American country, which makes its colonial past visible through its architecture that attracts several domestic and foreign tourists – it is the centre of the proposed exploration. The specific area chosen as a transition ground is: the main entrance of the walls, in which stands the Clock Tower, symbol and irony in a context where time (chronos) leaves the natural rhythm (day / night, sun = heat) disassociates flows and routines of contemporary city model characterized by frenzy and stress. Below the clock, the door dug into the walls represents the crucial point of the gaze of the researchers, the centre of a circular space that the walls themselves split into two zones characterized by rhythms, smells, sounds, different energies that make them interesting for comparison and reflection. In this first stage of work, the rhythm-analysis exercise will be applied to the Plaza de los Coches, located inside of the walls, leaving comparisons with the Plaza de la Paz (outside the walls) for a second time. Inspired by the reflection of Lefebvre (2004), in which the role of rhythm-analyst is to analyse the rhythms, finding what they reveal regarding what they are linked (time, space, energy); therefore, the invitation is to think of the rhythm, drifted by the temporal flow of the city, in the exercise of understanding the link with time and space by direct experience the same pace with the body becomes metronome which demands to include all the senses for observation. Thus abandoning a phenomenological view of the rhythms it is essential the role of the observer in the show to understand it.

In consequence, the following work proposes a general analysis to demonstrate of how life routines and everyday day activities define identities which persist over time leading from the ordinary to the extraordinary.

The concept of polyrhythmias proposed by Lefebvre and Benitez Rojo guides our reflexion. While Lefebvre explained it by using the metaphors of ocean waves, “waves come in succession [...] have a rhythm which depends on the season, the water, and the winds, but also on the sea that carries them, that brings them. Each sea has its rhythm [...] but looking closely at each wave. It changes ceaselessly. [...] we were a current or a few solid objects animated by a movement of their own, you could have the intuition of what is a polyrhythmic field and even glimpse the relations between complex processes and trajectories, between bodies and waveforms” (Lefebvre, 2004 p. 79); Benitez Rojo proposes to use the model of a flow machine or interruption, technological - poetic by saying that the culture of people of the sea is like a flow intercepted by other rhythms that are trying to silence the noise with its own social form interrupting speech of nature, the flow of a feedback machine that can not be fully known, and that society constantly interrupted with the most varied rhythms and noisy. In the space created - which is always a zone of chaos and that can only be sensed through the poetic - the only desire is to stay in a limited area as long as possible, in free-

orbit, beyond the prison and freedom. The performance of Caribbean cultural machine is an initial rhythm then displaced by other rhythms becoming a form of flow. Benitez Rojo proposed a comparison with a machine of flow or interruptions, a technologically- poetically machine affirming that culture of See People is like a flow intercepted by other rhythms that are trying to silence the noise with its own social form interrupting the nature of speech, the flow of a feedback machine that cannot be fully known, and that society interrupts constantly with the most varied rhythms and noises. In the space created - it always represents a zone of chaos and it can only be intuitively understood through poetry - the only desire is to stay in a limited area as long as possible, in free-orbit, beyond the prison and freedom. The performance of the Caribbean cultural machine consists of an initial rhythm displaced by other rhythms thus becoming a form of flow.

We ask ourselves what type of performance is observed in the Plaza de los Coches beyond the chaos of Caribbean culture and as proposed by Benitez Rojo - which calls into question the Eurocentric concept of aesthetic object considering polyrhythm the highest degree of aesthetic experience through the significance - we wonder about how the polyrhythm of the Plaza de los Coches can become an aesthetic object.

Going further into details, the research analysed the performance consumed daily in the historic centre that becomes the privileged setting for the staging of everyday practices. After characterizing which populations live, transit, consume the space (tourists, street vendors, tour operators, drivers, street performers, seniors, Christian preachers, office workers, prostitutes, students, police, taxi drivers ...), we identified the different types of rhythm. Precisely, we put the focus on *natural rhythm* of the environmental context (night / day, sun / rain); the pace of the party (the life of the street with its music); in the rhythm of walking by considering the walk an instrument that helps to tell a story since the body is modelled by the same city (the women' tumbao). It is then analysed how the pace of daily life and the internal rhythm of each individual body influence the social space and the process of assigning meanings.

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Interactional resources and their use in learning the Lindy Hop

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What kinds of interactional resources enable partner dancers to coordinate their physical movements so closely, especially in improvisational dance? And how are these resources mobilised and developed by beginners as they learn steps, rhythms and movements together? These questions prompt an initial exploration of data drawn from video recordings of a beginner's partner dance workshop. A catalogue of some of the methods beginners use to learn and dance together is developed by examining the detailed coordination of talk, movement and openings and closings of episodes of dance practice in the workshop context.

The paper then compares these beginner's methods with the ways professional dancers coordinate their improvisations and interact with each other and audiences during their performances. This analysis suggests that along with music and sung rhythms, dancers of all levels use everyday conversational resources such as prosody, shifts of gaze and orientation, pragmatic and tactile/physical constraints to accomplish mutually coordinated body movements.

By detailing the fundamental methods used in partner dance, more complex ways that dancers establish, learn and maintain norms and conventions of their dance become amenable to systematic analysis. This study concludes that future work on partner dance promises to provide particularly

useful and explicit examples of embodied coordination that may be common but far more subtle in everyday interactions.

The data presented is drawn from video and audio recordings of twenty participants and two teachers in a day-long beginner's partner dance workshop. Partner dances such as the Lindy Hop nominally involve a 'lead' partner initiating and a 'follow' partner responding to a spontaneously combined set of more or less conventionalized bodily movements around a dance floor, often in conjunction with rhythmic instructions, counting, or music. In this workshop, dancers were asked to switch partners after each spate of practice - so as well as learning to dance, students had to manage the social interactions involved with stopping dancing with one partner and starting dancing with the next.

The Lindy Hop workshop provides a useful context for an interactional analysis because it combines unpredictability and improvisation with the conventional use of specific moves or sequences. This demands interactional work from dancers and teachers. Their work to maintain coordinated movement, responding and reciprocating each other's actions provides a wealth of material for this analysis. This paper presents initial findings that identify some of the interactional resources beginner dance partners use to learn, coordinate and repeat mutual body movements.

Dance and improvisation is often used as a metaphor in the analysis of everyday interaction. For example, in describing the joint construction of units of talk, Iwasaki (2011) describes a dense interweaving of different modalities of embodied talk and action.

"Metaphorically speaking, conversation is finely tuned interactional choreography, and constructing units is a collaborative and embodied process. Like dancers who attune themselves to their partner, interactants use multiple resources and forms, creating a performance together."

Iwasaki (2011) shows how multiple interactional resources are used in the construction of what researchers in conversation analysis (CA) have tended to treat as lexical, clausal or phrasal 'units' of talk (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). Her analysis highlights participants' agency in orchestrating the interplay between spontaneous interaction and conventionalized or cultural factors. Similarly, J. Whalen, Whalen, & Henson (2002) intentionally use the contradictory phrase 'improvisational choreography' to describe the deftness with which operators deal with the complex techno-social environment of a telesales floor. By focusing on how operators are "closely coordinating multiple means of action with multiple tools", J. Whalen et al. (2002) gain access to features of everyday interaction that may otherwise be difficult to notice or account for in a systematic analysis. Similarly, Analysis of 'choral productions' (the simultaneous production of talk or gestures in ordinary conversation by multiple participants) suggests that these everyday coordination features are clearly manifested in improvised partner dance (Lerner, 2002):

"[i]t is members' methods for accomplishing the structuring and sequencing of ordinary occasions of social life that furnish the mundane resources that are called upon to achieve, for example, practiced close order drill".

The combination of regular partner changes and the contrast between structured choreography and improvised responsiveness makes the Lindy Hop workshop a particularly useful context for interactional analysis (Keevallik, 2010). Furthermore, because partner dance makes subtle forms of embodied interaction so explicit, it is also a unique environment for exploring the multiple tools and means of action of ordinary interaction. This paper turns the well-used metaphor of conversation as a dance around and explores a dance through its students' uses of conversational devices and environmental/interactional resources.

This example is included to show how the analysis in this paper demonstrates dancers using interactional resources in different ways to organise their movement together. In Extract 1 Sara, Jim, Anne and Paul are finishing practising a move while Saul sings a rhythmical dance count. At the end of Saul's dance call at line 3, Jim comes to an abrupt halt, feet together on the floor, weight split. Several other dancers arrive at this same position precisely at the final "triple." of the call. At this point Jim, and the other dancers marked in green in figure 1 are not in a position to continue dancing whereas Sara, Anne, Paul and others in the room are positioned differently, still in motion, ready to dance.

Jim's feet move slightly earlier than Paul's Anne's or Sara's. His footwork, transfer of body weight and momentum slow down through the middle section "°ep (.) tri:ple" as Jim begins to sing along. Jim's footwork speeds up and his pitch and volume increases, sustaining the end of his "tri:ple." relative to Saul's, which drops prosodically at that point. In this way Jim matches variations in the speed and pace of his footwork to his own rhythmical reuse of the lexico-syntactic resources of dance call.

By contrast, Sara, Paul and Anne - marked in red in figure 1 - step back, split their weight and stop dancing together with the onset of Saul's "G O : : O : : d!". Without having space to analyse this method, it is worth noting in closing that the regularity of these methods and their interactional contingencies are shown in the slow-motion sections of the video by how dancers who stop like Jim are all pulled off balance by dancers who stop like Paul, Sara and Anne.

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The Logic is Made to Dance: Rhythm in Tibetan Debating

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Tibetan philosopher-monks use rhythm collaboratively to establish adequate communication of both philosophical ideas and the sequences of reasoning used to develop those ideas. Overlooked by two centuries of Tibetologists, these rhythmic resources are an essential feature of the public philosophical debating that best characterizes what is unique about Tibetan philosophical culture. Their public debating, practiced daily in some monastic universities for up to five hours, are more important for Tibetan philosophical reflection and outlook than are the docile texts that have been the focus of most Western scholarship.

A striking feature of these debates is the way that a protagonist (the challenger) and an antagonist (the defender, or "the holder of the thesis") will concert their philosophical arguments in conformity with a developing rhythm that contributes to the smooth flow of their argumentation. Features of this rhythmic 'concert' include prompt replies delivered crispy, repetition of the formulations of philosophical commitments with repetition of confirmations of them (which contributes to the objectivation of the commitments), and vocal gestures that serve as rhetorical markers or mark the status of a comment within the developing formal analytics of any debate.

The aim of Tibetan debaters is to produce a rhythmic synchronization that keeps the parties in intersubjective alignment. Even while they work in fierce opposition to each other's views, their dialectics operate within a social solidarity fostered by their rhythmic practices. The mutually produced and mutually sustained rhythmic harmony is the talisman and vehicle for the debaters' higher purpose of celebrating the capacity of reason to assist understanding.

Communication is an important part of all philosophical discourse, and communication is well served when thoughts are respecified in objective forms that can make them accessible to all. When a debate bears a seamless rhythm, each party can know just how and just when to fit in their contribution with the others', and for that they must listen attentively. Further, the rhythmic resources flow from many embodied features of their debating. A challenger, who is always standing, uses handclaps to signify the posing of a formal proposition, and each handclap requires

immediate acceptance or rejection by the defender, who is always sitting. These handclaps can include a long wind-up that finishes just inches above the nose of the sitting defender. The challenger also uses backside hand slapping to announce publicly that here has been a contradiction in the defender's argumentation. The challenger may spin his rosary in circles while shouting, "You are confounded!" whenever the logic of a defender has been defeated. There are a variety of choreographed movements of the challenger's body (bobbing and weaving, simultaneous clapping if there is more than one challenger, high leg raises to accompany a clap at the most important point, etc.). At times a challenger in a Tibetan debate can resemble a hyperactive orchestral conductor. A pervading feature of Tibetan debates is that the debaters have a preference for presenting their proposition first in an incorrect form (sometimes in the hope that a defender who is not thinking originally will go along with it and make an early error, which keeps defenders very wary of every proposition presented to them). Following an incorrect proposition (frequently the opposite of what is true) and its rejection by a defender, the challenger will present the correct proposition, and receive the defender's speedy affirmation. This predictable dance of the logic can contribute to the parties getting started on rhythmically sequencing their turns of argumentation. These rhythmic tools serve to enhance the clarity of the debate and the debaters' communication, i.e. to help them make evident—to make seen—the thinking they are doing. In this way, there is a direct relationship between rhythm and clear philosophical thinking, especially dialectical thinking. Perhaps the signal use of rhythm in debate is the way that a debate will gain in intensity and speed, like the arpeggio of a symphony. The rhythm intensifies in coordination with the intensity of the argumentation. When choreographed by two superior debaters, the questions-and-responses can proceed as if only one person was speaking; and at times they do seem to be able to think as one. This is when Tibetan scholars are the happiest, and their debates are more about accomplishing this synchrony of rhythm than they are about winning or losing the argument. While their choreography is related closely to the substantive matters about which they are arguing and helps them to organize the orderliness of those arguments, it is not anything that in itself is conceptual. It is another one of those nonconceptual phenomena that are so very fundamental to how we organize our mundane lives together; nevertheless, these rhythmic practices have failed to draw much attention from philosophers or Tibetologists.

The chief rhythmic resources that Tibetans use in their philosophical debating will be summarized and each resource illustrated with several videotaped examples of live debating by Tibetan scholar-monks. Then one or two lengthier debates will be presented, with the aim of identifying and describing just how the rhythmic features contribute to the philosophical argument and thinking itself. When performed well, a debate will acquire its own rhythm that appears to operate apart from the debaters, as its own objectivated social fact; and the established rhythm will direct the debaters' succeeding contributions. When this happens, the debaters begin to treat the rhythm—and the argumentation that it bears—as external to their production. This lends to their philosophical accomplishments a veneer of objectivity. It operates something like an old fashioned child's wind-up toy car that can be tension-loaded and then released on a flat surface to race off by itself. On such occasions the debaters, just as a child with a toy car, can be left to gaze at "the logic" of their dialectical collaboration as a product that is capable of operating independently of them. Without understanding how Tibetans use rhythm, it is impossible to understand Tibetan dialectical reasoning.

SACRED CREATIVITY

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SACRED CREATIVITY I

Friday 6th 9.00-12.00 – 2 SA

Indian dance-theatre bharatanatyam and christianity: creative modalities of adaptation of a Hindu bodily form of rituality to christian spirituality

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Indian dance Bharatanatyam is only one of the seven styles of Indian classical dance, and it comprises four schools. Even if it comes from the region of Tamil Nadu, after its reformation in the Thirties, it spread all over the subcontinent and is practiced also in Sri Lanka, in the Mauritius and wherever there is an Indian community. It is a mimic art that comprises gestural, vocal and dance movements, whose goal is not – not only – entertainment. Dancers narrate complex myths or perform prayers dedicated to the deity with their bodies.

In the *Natyashastra*, one of the most important and ancient theoretical texts available about dance-theatre, it is written that god Brahma originally imparted the science of gesticulation and dance so that knowledge of Vedas could be accessible to all the castes, including that of the Shudras, the members of the fourth Varna, i.e. the Untouchables. Depicting all the human passions, even the negative ones, and representing myths, it has the power to educate and to make men better as much as prayer, fasting and rituals. Although, in the course of centuries, it has lost part of its spiritual inspiration and has been corrupted in the eyes of Indian people – in 1947 the Supreme Court of Madras approved a law that prohibited the execution of danced rituals in the temples, relegating them to the theatres- it has maintained its religious meaning. In fact, subjects of dances are taken from the Hindu epics, such as *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. Every show has to begin with a prayer to Ganesh, and there has to be a dance dedicated to Shiva Nataraja, Lord of Dance.

This opens one of the biggest problems related to an adaptation of Bharatanatyam to Christianity. Also Christian performers cannot avoid this traditional Hindu repertoire, which is part of their artistic training. This attempt of inculturation poses many problems at the theological and cultural level. Even if there are not explicit approvals or formal prohibitions by the Vatican on the introduction of Bharatanatyam into the liturgy, theologians and dancers – some are part of the clergy – continue the experimentation making effective transformations, and nowadays Christian Indian dance is practiced both in India and in the West, mainly in paraliturgical situations. On one hand, these innovators take inspiration from the Vatican II and from the encouraging words of Pope Francis, who in his apostolic letter promotes inculturation of the evangelical message and wants to undermine the idea that the Christian religion is an exclusive patrimony of the West; on the other hand, the innovators support a political claim and highlight dynamics of power, which exist between the centre represented by the Roman Catholic Church or the centres, that is to say the institutes where the experimentations take place, and the periphery or the peripheries.

In these dynamics the cultural exchange is included between Hinduism and Christianity, India and the West, which is strongly influenced by colonialism.

Lastly, the problem related to the specific language of Bharatanatyam and its translation into another religion is an issue of great interest. It is necessary to learn an ancient and complex code and to adapt it to a new spirituality.

It is mostly on this aspect that I will concentrate my presentation. Bharatanatyam, in fact, does not

use only the expressions of the face and the movements of the body, but utilizes positions of the hands called mudras or hastas (mudra is a generic term, hasta is specific for dance). A great part of the narration is devoted to these gestures. From a numerical point of view, in Bharatanatyam, we have about fifty-two hastas divided into *asamuyta* – single – and *samyuta* - double. However, in addition to these, there are other mudras from other styles of dance and some that are borrowed from medical or religious fields. The problem is that for every hasta there is a list of meanings. For instance, the first of them, *pataka*, can depict clouds, a door opening, a book, a forest, a river, a horse... This means that it is difficult for the audience to understand the meaning of a performance. About thirty years ago when Fr. Francis Barboza decided to systematically adapt Bharatanatyam to Christianity, first of all he created new *deva* hastas, particular gestures that are unequivocally dedicated to a specific god. Since he had a degree in theology, he decided to represent complex theological meanings with his hand. His method is based on the combination of traditional gestures with profound theological concepts. Today, many Christian dancers utilize his “creations”, but I found that in India other dancers depict the same concepts with different movements and gestures or use *deva* hastas created by Barboza without knowing their exact meaning. I will show some examples of this phenomenon with the aid of images and videos, collected during my fieldwork in India and in the USA.

Goddess Spirituality between Tradition and Innovation

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This paper is the result of the ethnographic research carried out in two groups belonging to one of the main streams of contemporary Paganism, Goddess Spirituality which is characterized by the valorization of feminine divine within itself and in its cosmic manifestations (a feature well expressed by the neologism *theaology*, first coined by Naomi Goldenberg in 1979). Moreover, this kind of spirituality offers an identity in which gender is a distinctive element, a religiosity that is mainly prone to Goddess cult (the Great Mother) and that is based on cosmos and divine feminine qualities (that is the *anima mundi* idea of ancient times).

In particular, the groups examined in this study respectively belong, on one hand, to feminine shamanism and, on the other hand, to the Avalon's tradition which makes reference to Glastonbury Goddess Temple.

Paganism, in general, and Goddess Spirituality, in particular, offer interesting cause for reflection about contemporary religious overview dynamics and they seem to be typical of what Lenoir (2005) has defined as contemporary «new religiosity». Furthermore, they reveal a deep metamorphosis in the representations of the divine which they concern some representation formerly existing in Western culture: both in ancient polytheism and in pagan and pre-Christian Old Religion, and in monotheisms through some mystic movements (Lenoir, 2005). Regarding this latter point, the cases studied constitute classic examples of «invention of tradition», an expression developed by Hobsbawm e Ranger (1983) which reveals the ongoing re-elaboration and innovation process of practices, sacred texts, rituals and religious symbols. An expression that constitutes a *leitmotiv* in the history of religions. In the light of this analytical category, past (sometimes considered mythic and ideal), memory and the construction of an historic transmission lineage constitute specific legitimization and authority sources of ‘tradition’. In this sense, Goddess Spirituality represents an ideal typical case of «invention of tradition». Indeed, through re-interpretation and innovation operations (Lambert, 1999), it offers a world view, a cosmology, values, practices, rituals, symbols and religious identities which get a specific legitimization and its roots in pre-Christian ancient Paganism, in archaic experiences of the sacred, in archaeological discoveries which have revealed the existence of ‘matriarchal’ societies devoted to Goddess cult in prehistory (see Murray, 1921, 1933; Gimbutas, 2008; Eisler, 2011), in history, in myths and literature (for example, the Arthurian Cycle). Moreover, Goddess Spirituality seems to be an interesting case of dual invention which refers, on one hand, to an out-and-out reconstruction process which entail a selective re-

appropriation of specific elements of tradition which have been adjusted to contemporary context in order to recreate a continuity with the past (for example, archaeological findings showing the existence of ancient societies based on Goddess cult). On the other hand, Goddess Spirituality involves an acquisition of ancient religious meanings which are invested by innovative cultural connotation that allow to this kind of spirituality to convey new ways to understand gender identities and the link between feminine and masculine (for example, *partnership*), social and political requests, patterns of education and development (for example, the re-appropriation of the role of Priestess in contemporary societies as claim of their fundamental role in society).

Through participant observation in the mentioned religious contexts, discursive interviews to group members and documentary material analysis, I have tried to trace the constitutive elements of this «invention of tradition» process, identifying mechanisms that constitute a legitimization source of this particular cases belonging to Goddess Spirituality and that are traceable in practices, rituals, texts and in speeches spreaded inside and outside groups. Furthermore, through discursive interviews I have tried to investigate the way group members acquire world view, existence patterns and meanings, how they integrate them in their self-conception and activate identification processes with reference to group identity, as well as self transformation.

The complexity of a contemporary religious festivity. The LGBT movement between «popular» religion and mythopoiesis

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This paper draws on my PhD research. This study attempts to wholly investigate those processes of construction and of attribution of meanings which are related to one specific contemporary religious festivity. This is a case study research focused on the pilgrimage of the Christian festivity of Candelora, which is held on the 2nd February in the Monastery of Montevergine, located in the Province of Avellino. The festivity of Candelora in Montevergine is a pilgrimage. During this day of feast the sanctuary welcomes several devout people, many pilgrims who attend this event are labelled as *femminielli*, according to the Neapolitan folkloric term used to depict homosexual and transsexual people. The dialectical term of *femminiello* is often applied to those individuals who are biologically male but at the same time they express attitudes, behaviours and roles which are normally attributed to the female gender. Their presence is characteristic in the Candelora feast of Montevergine and this is why this festivity is also referred as “the *femminielli's* day” or “the *femminielli's* feast”. Since 2002, given some contrasts between the Benedictine monks and some homosexual communities, the Campania LGBT movement gathers together at the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Montevergine in order to propose a program of activities named *Candelora Day*. It should be further underlined the importance of the interaction between the LGBT movement and this popular pilgrimage devoted to Lady Mary– which since ancient time is characterised by the participation of homosexual pilgrims (De Simone 1982: D'Agostino 2000). During the last ten years, the LGBT movement has produced several elaboration about the meaning of this pilgrimage which is continually affected by ongoing processes of re-traditionalization. In particular, this paper aims to engage the recent participation of the LGBT movement to this festivity. In 2002, the Abbot of Montevergine pronounced a sermon against homosexual and transsexual pilgrims who attended the Candelora festivity; the then Abbot, Tarcisio, publicly sustained that homosexual pilgrims with their presence «profaned a sacred place» and «their prayers to Virgin Mary were not welcomed». After this episode of discrimination - immediately codified under the expression “the expulsion of the *femminielli*”- several political realities and civil rights movements of the Campania region gather themselves to organise the first *Femminiello Pride*, in order to claim «the right to religion for homosexual and transsexual people»; in the specific, this protest identified the Candelora of Montevergine as one «ancient form of gay pride». During these last ten years, thanks to the presence of the LGBT movement at the Sanctuary, started spreading a legend which nowadays has become a founding myth. This myth is based on the existence of a strict relationship between the

femminielli and Our Lady of Montevergine; the attempt is to legitimate the worship of Mary as well as to strengthen the homosexual and transexual pilgrims' devotion to «Mamma Schiavona». Going beyond the sole mythic narration – which is a system of representations able to establish links between the natural and social conditions – it is important here to engage this narrative production as if it was the result of a process of mythopoiesis: the word becomes narration in order to structure itself within one rhetorical system. The contribution of this paper is to deepen the LGBT movement's narrative virtuosity which, during these years, has elaborated an original symbolic production to signify the festivity of Candelora at the Sanctuary of Montevergine. This process of mythopoiesis recovers “traditional and popular” elements which are part of a discursive space where free associations of ideas take place. In this case, the tradition is a storage of ideas in which is possible to freely draw in order to produce a imagery capable of recoveries and interpolations (Bravo 2005; Apolito 1993; Abbruzzese 2010). In sum, the study of this religious festivity has permitted to highlight the continuous transformations of this ceremony, both at the structural and phenomenological levels; at the same time, it has been possible to grasp the re-configuration of those elements which characterise this festivity in respect to their multiple functions (Prandi 2002). The deconstruction of this myth allows to trace those symbolic limits which are involved in defining the plurality of this religious event as well as to wonder: which are the points of transition, the borders and the conflicts involved in these systems of meaning (Pace 2008)? How does the complexity of social actors' interactions develop? Taking in mind that we direct ourselves from the society of the disenchantment to the society where a surplus of meaning is nowadays mainstream, the premise of this research is that bricolage is an articulated logical operation whose potential creativity hides the key to comprehend contemporary forms of religiosity.

The “segnatura” creativity: as a traditional therapeutic ritual adjusts to the innovative forms of contemporary spirituality

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The article presents the first results of an ethnographic research focused on the therapeutic practice of "segnatura" in Emilia Romagna. The aim is to analyze the dynamism and creativity of the ritual, and his insertion inside the contexts practicing a new kind of spirituality. With the word "segnatura" I am referring to a diagnostic-therapeutic ritual used to cure specific illnesses and ailments (fuoco di Sant'Antonio, sprains, stomach ache, erysipelas, pinworm infection) exploiting the symbolic and empirical effectiveness of incantations, objects, signs, numbers and unguents. The “segnatura” was quite common in Italy until the last century (it was also carried out in other states of Europe), it was practiced especially in the rural areas and it is still used in some of this (for example in the Parma and Bologna's districts where I have carried out a part of the research). The relationship between “segnatura” and sacredness can be seen from his symbolism, apparently closely related with the christian-catholic world. The reproduction of the cross symbol with fingers or through some objects is used for the cure (the word “segnatura” itself derives from the Latin signo, which probably concerns to the cross sign). Moreover it adds the incantations, usually represented by saints' invocations o catholic-canonical prayers. Finally it is common the new adept is been initiated on Christmas night. During the fieldwork I had the opportunity to interview healers and patients who actually use the therapy. It is part of our tradition and it is considered as part of the typical rituals of our "traditional religion”; a kind of middle way between natural remedies and faith, and depending on which one prevails in the patients, it is used the first or the second explication to justify the efficacy. With this article I would like to deepen in the readjustment and the re-contextualisation of the practice in currently reality of innovative forms of spirituality. To glimpse this new aspect I am starting from a participant observation, realized on the December 24st 2013, focused on the “segnatura” initiation ritual, and organized by an association that is concerned with analogical medicine (reiki, crystal therapy, music therapy). Even if the ceremony is not inserted inside of a canonically religious context, and therefore it is not canonically sacred, there is a continuous

reference to catholic symbolism through cross sign, holy pictures, and prayers. However, melodies, mudra (power gesture of yoga) and mantra (power words), typical of the oriental world, have also been taken, adapted and added to this element. The two traditions cross their paths and the association is presented as a sacred space which intends to express the relation that religion (or religions) entertains with medicine.

A cult in Montesacro: Ethnography of a mountain repopulation with a religious background

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This work presents the results of an ethnographical research realized by a group of three researchers; this research is focused on the settlement, in a small mountain community, of new nuclear families, with a peculiar religious bearing. These new inhabitants follow a recent new age cult, birth in the U.S.A. that can be classified as a "psyco-sect". This cult connects pseudoscientific known to initiatic revelations: it proposes a batch of activities to the observant; those activities are out-to-out marketing-oriented strategies, and they are used to increase the individual potential of the observants themselves.

The way of thinking is not presented as a religious mystery, but it is communicated as a practical approach where everyone can test the contents himself and benefit from them.

The practical aspect is however based on an ascetic one: although the start is an internal clarification, and the recapture of the human being himself, the goal is to make everyone conscious that every single observant is God: God is in every man.

From a sociological point of view, the localization of this spiritual community of this american based cult, represents a great possibility to study social dynamics linked to the tract and understand the conquest of a spiritual, esoteric, contemporary and imported phenomenon.

One of the peculiar aspects of this group is correlated to the building of some bunkers, placed below observant's houses. There is a direct link from this activity and american leader's teaching: the initial joyous and positive message is replaced by a frightening and catastrophically dialectic, that talks about forthcoming catastrophes and disasters. This frightening feeling is the reason why some USA batches of the cult decided to abandon the cult itself and some others decided to sell their own home and buy new ones closer to the guide spirit's residence. The same thing happened also in Italy, even if on a small scale;

the mountain community that is the aim of the study, has been identified by the leader himself as one of the places who would've been saved from the 21st December 2012's catastrophe.

We can also find another point of general interest in this case of study: far-back disaster's sociology denounce a political and institutional absence of a constant divulgation about the normal disaster's risk in every territory. These informations may've been twist and use in extreme cases with profit-making-businesses an ideological and manipulative purpose

The substantial consideration gathered by fieldwork is mostly about:

- Initiatic itinerary's features. List of spiritual techniques learned and performed in the everyday-life of every cult's member.
- Local population's point of view about the different religiousness of the new based ones, putting particular attention about the selective communication form of the initiatic contents to the people that are not initiate.
- Integration's strategies of cult's members and the socio-economic impact of their presence in the small mountain community.

Analysis of the relationship with the others citizens.

This study took place with a non-continuative presence fieldwork in two years' time (since the Summer of 2011 to the Autumn of 2013).

In this period one of the researchers made a covered observation inside the cult in two weeks

because, during that period, took place an annual closed-door meeting that has a doctrinal, initiatic and social function.

Later the other researchers started a participant observation's phase that permitted a direct contact with local population, using both institutional and informal settings.

This phase permitted to observe the everyday life and construct an historical process and observe the way the two "populations" relate each other.

During the same laps of time, the researchers made also interviews trying to understand the point of view of the locals respect the observants' religion.

In the research, there is an analysis mountain community's repopulation, divided in two part for analytic reasons: the little village that we'll call Montesacro (about 220 citizens) and the mountain community that we'll call Vallescura (names of both places are invented) set up by three Comuni in a 40km area.

These places suffered in the last years of a great depopulation and after that a big and fast repopulation that can be divide in two phases:

The first part of the repopulation took place mainly by the observers of the cult; the second part of the repopulation took place mainly by holidaymakers and foreign immigrates.

Vallescura's area was victim of a great incoming migratory flow, mainly from North Africa and East Europe.

In the last ten years, the migratory flows created two kind of "foreigner":

A "worker foreigner", that follows mainly economic reasons; and a "religious foreigner", they are guide mainly by doctrinal reasons.

We can also find a different kind of perception from the local citizens to the foreigners.

The "religious foreigner" oversteps the normal sense of belonging.

We putted particular attention on the successful and precise integration strategies act by the cult that ad a great city requalification that brought new life in the economic activities of the mountain community. Furthermore, the observants created a sort of gated community that created a physical separation between the citizens of the mountain community and cult's religious activities. At a disadvantage, integration's conflictual aspect is the disagreement with the local Church. Moreover, the spacial dimension affects the opinion and the perception about the cult. As you get far from Montesacro as you will see that people don't know what the real activities of the cult are and we can also find opaque opinions. Inside Montesacro, where citizen know a little more cult's activities, they have also another kind of opinion based for example on the economical profit that the cult took to the city. We can find those economical profits mainly in Montesacro but not in Vallescura

Religious creativity in the “Anima Universale” [Universal Soul] spiritual elevation movement. Verónica Roldán, Università degli Studi Roma Tre, veronica.rolan@uniroma3.it

The present considerations are the outcome of a multiyear scholarly investigation of *Anima Universale*, one of the most significant religious movements born in Northern Italy in the Nineteen Eighties.

The enquiry is based, above all, on a methodology availing of data collection techniques such as in-depth interviews and participant observation. In particular, the life stories of the founder of the movement, Roberto Casarin, and all the priests of the “new church” were collected, along with the account of one ex-member now highly hostile to the group.

By applying participant observation to the religious functions and the daily lives of the members belonging to the group, it was possible to examine the kind of religiosity, the strategies used to receive those who take part in the functions, the type of religious participation involved, the movement's organization, the relationships established between those who participate in it and the extent of the group's cohesion.

Analyses of the secondary data took into due consideration publications issued by the movement itself and articles which appeared in the local (Turin) and national press.

The main objective of this case study was that of examining the core elements of the *Anima Universale* movement, of foregrounding those characterising religious-type features –prevalently Christian, particularly Catholic, in origin but also grounded in decidedly spurious elements drawn from various traditions, above all those of the orient – which aimed at uniting principles of universal values in a sole spiritual experience.

Among other things, Casarin fostered an interpretation of Christianity and spirituality all his own, considered not so much as a refusal of the past as a broadening of horizons.

The “Knowledge” taught by the founder – which includes the idea of overcoming all cultural and religious barriers by integrating diverse religious elements in a sole spiritual corpus of thought– contains concepts derived from various spiritual traditions, the object, however, of a complex process of reinterpretation.

The concepts of God the Father, Christ or the Virgin Mary, also known as the Universal Soul (seeing that the founder of the movement wished to dedicate the movement to Her who is the “Mother of all peoples”), assume meanings which strive to be universally ecumenical and are based on Casarin’s own particular interpretation. Even eschatological principles and concepts such as the resurrection or the Eucharist are blended into a though system which assumes meanings different from those of Catholicism, coexisting, as it does, with theories based on *karma* and reincarnation.

The fact that this philosophy contains elements shared by Christians, Buddhists, New Agers and others is not held to be either a conceptual problem or a contradiction; similarities or common elements are the basis on which they converge.

At present, Roberto Casarin dialogues with all those who take an interest in his spiritual gifts, without taking their religious membership into consideration; God, he holds, is not the “property” of any one religious institution, but the “God of all peoples”.

The movement’s eclecticism is, therefore, meant to be seen in terms of an encounter between religions, seeing that they all tend towards the same end, that is, the revelation of the divinity residing inside each individual, so that even the atheist may be saved if he/she is able to believe in the universal soul and act accordingly.

This hybrid form of religiosity assumed by *Anima Universale*, is in keeping with one of today’s most widespread religious-cultural trends. It is an example of the extreme complexity of the contemporary religious situation, where coexistence between different religions – some reciprocally incompatible– gives rise to new forms of religiosity, valorising the right of individuals to choose freely from among the many types of religious offers available.

SACRED CREATIVITY II.

Saturday 7th 9.00-12.00 – 2 SA

Re-discover itako, re-discover Japan

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In the Nord-East of the Japanese archipelago can still be found some representatives of a particular form of shamanism, maybe one of the most peculiar and debated; it is the shamanism of itako, the blind shamans. These women, blind since a very young age, or since birth, choose this profession as a way to survive and as a means to gain a sustenance and a social recognition.

The shamanism of itako undergoes, in times, to interesting modification connected to the political and social evolution experienced by Japan, starting with the great Cultural Revolution at the end of Tokugawa Era and with the beginning of the Meiji Era (1868). The Meiji Era, as is renowned, represented the first significant moment in which Japan opened its borders to the rest of the world, in particular to the colonizing western super powers (USA in primis, but also United Kingdom and

other European Countries). The deep renovation which followed this opening, brought huge effects also on the religious field, which acquired an important political value in the creation of the new national identity. It is exactly in this perspective that all the pre-Buddhist practices were reunited under the label Shinto, and raised to State Religion, while new values were introduced or strengthened in order to morally compete with the western countries.

To this purpose, a whole set of religious practices and costumes were repudiated, since they didn't adjust to the guideline of the new State; these were all those practices that represented a clear religious syncretism, and they were exposed as primitive and uncivilized beliefs of the ignorant population, culturally and socially underdeveloped. Along with many other religious specialists (〇〇〇〇, term indicating all those religious practitioners involved with the occult), the itako too were discriminated and criminalized (also legally), to the extent that they were compared to beggars and con artists; in particular between 1873 and 1874, the Minister for the Religious Education 〇〇〇 released an official statement in which it strongly prohibited to this specialists to “foment the people” 〇〇〇〇〇, o “Obstruct the medicine” 〇〇〇〇〇〇〇. Later this statement turned into a criminal sentence, and all these practices began to be considered social crimes 〇〇〇〇〇〇. The same discrimination mechanism is traceable in different Meiji newspapers which, following the state politics on religious affairs in the pre-war period, treated the issue of itako shamanism labeling it as “crime”; the shamans themselves were described as criminals and con artists, only caring about the sole economic element of their activities. In this interpretation, every mystical or spiritual aspect is completely overlooked. At the same time, these same articles depicted the believers who followed the itako as ignorant persons, dominated by primitives superstitions.

This whispering campaign against itako stopped in the first decades of the XX century, when, while war in Asia sharpened, we witness to a rediscovery of some traditional cultural phenomena, as clairvoyance 〇〇〇, and spiritual studies began 〇〇〇, leading to a rediscovery of local tradition, particularly in the Thirties, with the beginning of folklore studies (minzokugaku 〇〇〇).

With the end of the war, and in the Fifties, these religious practices acquired new life. The itako in particular started to appear frequently on the newspapers and travel magazines, in connection with the trend of rediscovering religious traditions and places, such as Osorezan, the hell mountain in Aomori prefecture, in Nord-east Japan.

From the mid Fifties, the practices related to the Hell Mountain revalued from the media, and acknowledged as a spiritual element by the population, belonging to the most ancient cultural tradition; in particular, the belief spread that these practices had pre-Buddhist origins, and were strongly related to the World of the Spirits and the Dead. Moreover, a new link was created between the Osorezan and the shamanic practices of Itako. From this moment on, the word “itako” itself enter the collective imagination, and the new diffusion of these practices can be connected to the ongoing trend “Discover Japan” 〇〇〇〇〇〇〇〇〇〇, which brought to a new revival, in media and advertisements, of the hidden, concealed and forgotten places of the country. The image of the itako started to appear frequently in travel magazines and newspapers, who devoted several articles and issues to this shaman practice and its connections to the Osorezan. Taking advantage of the fascination for hidden places and ancient practices, magazines focused now (following a reverse trend since the pre-war period) on the elements of mystery and spirituality; in particular, different images of the itako started to circulate in the media, portraying them while performing their religious activities, bringing these shamans in the collective imagination as strongly linked to the Hell Mountain and its set of beliefs and ritual practices.

We should note that, at the beginning, this link between itako and Osorezan leans in favor of the mount, meaning that the latter is the main focus of the articles as one of the main sacred places in Japan and location par excellence to communicate with the dead; the itako arises as the only religious specialist who can allow this communication, and her reputation is firmly connected to the that of the mountain.

The whole trend “Discover Japan” was a response to the huge request of the Japanese people, in the post-war period, to recover a contact with their authentic traditions, to reassess them, as a reaction to the scientific culture of the West, imposed by the Meiji revolution. The revival of Osorezan

practiced have been a key factor for the revival of itako's shamanic practices, until then repudiated. The blind shaman became the symbol of the Tradition, opposing the present times, and of the rediscovery of ancient values while the modernity was rising in the country.

This contrast between tradition and modernity intensified in the Sixties, when the popularity of itako reached the peak (we can speak of a real Itako boom); in this moment, it was them who focused the attention of the media, becoming the central point of the articles, while the mountain slipped in the background; the itako turned into the symbol of the resistance of tradition against modernity.

Narrative as Sacred Performance: Personal Revelation among Latter-day Saints

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For this paper, I propose an examination of the processes of transforming divine encounters and experiences into narrative to be shared for spiritual, rhetorical, pragmatic, and personal reasons in the vernacular religious practices of Latter-day Saints (Mormons). Having undertaken extensive ethnographic fieldwork within local LDS congregations, I base my analysis of these sacred narratives on emic conceptions of personal revelation both as a spiritual experience as well as one of the most pervasive narrative traditions told with the Church.

As a folklorist, I have focused on the creative processes of vernacular life, including religious belief and practice. This session on Sacred Creativity provides an exciting opportunity to engage in a discussion with other ethnographers about the ways in which individuals create and enact their faith, how genres of religious behavior such as narrative can operate as both a resource for belief as well as an agent for dialogic hermeneutics, and how vernacular performances are shaped by formal and informal structures and religious hierarchies.

Although not a member of the Mormon Church, I immersed myself in the formal and informal religious activities of local LDS congregations with a particular focus on oral narrative traditions. I augmented this work with archival research from fieldwork conducted in Utah and throughout the Intermountain West of the United States. In this paper, I will discuss stories of personal revelation, arguably the most pervasive of LDS oral narrative genres past and present. Briefly, personal revelation narratives describe members' experiences receiving guidance from the divine—usually the Holy Ghost—to guide them in their daily lives. This guidance is always sacred, though it can be focused primarily on earthly, mundane issues—career path, choice in spouse, avoidance of physical harm, etc.—or more explicit spiritual issues—the truth of Church doctrine, decisions to become baptized, etc.

Phenomenologically, these experiences are powerful emotionally, spiritually and practically, and while they often bring comfort, personal revelation can also be ambiguous and unsettling. The range of responses and interpretations are negotiated socially through story. Creating and sharing stories from personal experience is ultimately a creative enterprise. Examining the situational context for these performances and the factors that influence how these stories are shared, provides an avenue for understanding how religious belief and practice are created, negotiated and expressed among lay practitioners of the faith.

Taking a performance-centered approach to the study of personal revelation, I have examined how contemporary Latter-day Saints create stories of their religious experiences to use in a myriad of social contexts, both in and outside of church. The variability of these contexts provides some insight into the range of the function of these stories. Within the boundaries of the three-hour Sunday church services, Latter-day Saints share their stories during Sacrament meeting (formal church service), Fast and Testimony meeting (more informal testimonies of one's faith but still situated within a formal church service), Sunday school among the adults of the congregation, Relief Society (for the adult women) and Priesthood (for the adult men). More informally, these stories are shared in the hallways before and after church, at informal church functions such as evening meetings, father-son camp outs, and LDS summer camps. These stories are also shared

within LDS families, particularly during Family Home Evening when families are expected to gather for personal worship, prayer, reflection and social time. In these settings, stories function primarily as doctrinal exemplars, personal testimonies, and family histories. Stories of personal revelation are also shared outside church settings with non-members. The most common is the context of mission work, whether during prescribed sessions with investigators, or more informal, spontaneous conversations with non-members when the opportunity to bear one's faith arises. The rhetorical power of these stories is significant, not only for what they accomplish in terms of conversion, but for what they can do for the construction of the personal identities of the tellers.

As a social enterprise, sharing stories has powerful implications for the formation, negotiation and construction of personal identity. Cultural norms for humility are particularly powerful in shaping these stories and tellers must negotiate the paradox of sharing an experience that denotes the granting of spiritual favor with the mandate to be humble, to be righteous but not self-righteous. Further, stories are evaluated according to personal reputations and identities constructed primarily in the sacred space of church life, distinct from reputations held in the mundane world. In this way, the doctor has no particular advantage over the factory worker in constructing a persona of deep faith commitment that encourages trust rather than skepticism in hearing the events described.

The aesthetic dimension of these religious narratives cannot be underestimated. A story told well has the ability to not only instruct and persuade, but to spiritually edify. A story told well can literally call the Holy Ghost back to the teller and impact both teller and audience with spiritual confirmation. Of course, the notion of what it means to be "told well" must be interrogated, and the ethnographic enterprise is particularly effective in defining esoteric terms and ferreting out emic meaning. Coupled with performance theory, such analysis helps to reveal the criteria people use to evaluate, assess, and interpret each others' stories.

Not surprisingly, these narrative traditions have not gone unnoticed by the General Authorities of the Church. From the very beginning of the Mormon religion, disagreement about the validity and truth of personal revelation shared by leaders and laypeople alike have created tension within the Church. In most cases, that tension has been weathered fairly easily, with the passage of time erasing unverified stories. In other cases, church authorities have taken a more aggressive approach, issuing official statements denouncing stories circulating in congregations around the United States that either run counter to doctrine or purport to add to it without official sanction. More rare but not wholly uncommon are more dramatic impacts, as when contested revelations result in new splinter groups established separate from LDS Church altogether, as with the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (FLDS) and the polygamous splinter sects sprinkled throughout the American west. Because the LDS Church is paradoxically a lay church with a rigid hierarchical structure and a centralized administration, binaries such as official and unofficial traditions are usefully explored in the context of the creative performance of vernacular religion.

Evolution of tradition in the Rāmānandī sampradāya. Among biographies, Jagadgurū and Mañh

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Rāmānanda is a particular character of the Indian medieval religious context. According to the tradition, he opened the path of *bhakti* (devotion) to anyone, without distinction of gender, caste and religion, and he established the Rāmānandī *sampradāya* (order). Nevertheless, there are very few evidences about him: in the 17th century, Nābhādās is the first to describe him as a guru and who links him with the tradition of Rāmānūja, an Indian philosopher of the 12th century, founder of the Śrī *sampradāya*. Nothing is said about Rāmānanda's historical period, place and date of birth, or about his literary production. Later on, other authors dealt with Rāmānanda's figure, but always to stress his religious message rather than his historical character.

In the 19th century, a change in the narration occurs depending on new historical circumstances. In

fact, the influence of Christian missionaries and the critics against Hinduism promoted by the English government, led several religious community to give more attention and importance to their identity and origin, focussing especially on the lives of their founders. Even in the Rāmānandī *sampradāya* new hagiographies were written, wherein episodes of Rāmānanda's life were told, as well as his place and date of birth affirmed: the 1299 CE in Allahabad. A further development in the narration happened in the 20th century, when a reformist group inside the *sampradāya* decided to get rid of any link with the Śrī *sampradāya*. For this reason, Rāmānanda's life was subjected to a further codification: his *paramparā* (lineage) was changed to eliminate the link with Rāmānūja, and several works were attributed to him to stress his identity and independence as an *ācārya* (traditional teacher).

From this circumstance, two consequences arose: the creation of the office of Jagadgurū Rāmānandācārya whose purpose is to represent the *sampradāya* on a national level, and the establishment of the Śrī Maṭh (a temple-*āśram*) on the place where, according to the tradition, Rāmānanda began his teachings and had his *āśram*. My paper will focus on these consequences, which will be explained not as an “invention of tradition” but as “evolution of tradition”. In fact, since a tradition is not a static entity but is affected by social and historical events, and since the contemporary innovations in the *sampradāya* were based on elements present in its history, I think the word evolution can be more appropriate to interpret these innovations as answers to a new historical context, wherein religious orders tend to be more institutionalized and the number of religious groups and gurus increases.

During my presentation, I will give some examples of this “evolution of tradition” describing the activities of the Jagadgurū Rāmānandācārya Rāmnaresācārya, who lives in the Śrī Maṭh, and whose main purpose is to spread Rāmānanda's life story and teachings. I will describe the Rāmānanda *jayantī*, a celebration Rāmnaresācārya has begun to celebrate the date of birth of Rāmānanda. During this event, scholars are gathered and money prize is given to a biographer of Rāmānanda, while the footprint of Rāmānanda (*caran pādukā*) is worshipped. Together with the celebration of the *jayantī*, other events are organized during the year, both in Vārāṇasī and various places in India, with the aim to publicize the Śrī Maṭh and the memory of Rāmānanda.

I will show another example, the restoration of a *haveli* (mansion) in Allahabad, which was donated to the Jagadgurū as the place where Rāmānanda lived. The value of the place lies also in its strategic position: it is just in front of the *Sangam*, the holy area where the Kumbh Melā, the most important religious gathering in India, is held. The possession of this place bestows particular prestige to Rāmnaresācārya, who has to demonstrate his authority and rights, because of the elections of others Jagadgurū Rāmānandācārya.

Therefore, the importance of Rāmānanda, the reconstruction and preservation of places linked with his life history becomes also an instrument through which affirm authenticity in the name of the real tradition.

The Ritual Doubt: Religious Syncretism and Reinvention of Memory in Contemporary Japanese Asceticism

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Since a couple of decades, the category of syncretism has been rediscussed in anthropological discourse by a few authors, with regard to contemporary themes concerning processes of “glocalisation”, reflection on modernity, as well as agency of individual and collective actors. More specifically, Stewart e Shaw (1994) proposed to investigate religious syncretism in terms of politics of assimilation or separation, intentionally enacted by social groups in mutual competition, not only for claiming their own identity, but also for the exercise of power. Similarly, Greenfield e Droogers (2001) consider syncretism as a way to always reconfigure semantic systems and social structures, through local combinations of meanings that renegotiate knowledge and power. On the other hand, Jean-Loup Amselle (1998) uses the category of syncretism, together with that of *métissage*, in order

to describe an original continuum of social groups in Africa, on which colonial power and anthropological knowledge would have asserted themselves, introducing separations and ruptures, differences and discontinuities, and *de facto* creating distinct and competing ethnic identities. Finally, some others as Lucà Trombetta (2004), analyse syncretic forms of contemporary religiosity in terms of religious *bricolage*, borrowing from the well-known concept used by Lévi-Strauss (1966) to describe the “mythical thought”. However, several of these studies assimilate the term syncretism to that of religious and cultural “synthesis”. In so doing, they fail to investigate the asymmetric, multivocal and contradictory relation which often endures between different ritual, mythical and doctrinal configurations selected by a “syncretic” discourse. A discourse which never resolves itself into a “synthetic” position, as the one proposed by Hegelian dialectics (Canevacci 1995). In this paper, I shall address these issues by exploring a particular case of contemporary mountain asceticism in Japan, which is part of the Shugendō movement, or “The Way to Ascetic Powers”. This ritual tradition, which started in the tenth century, was banned in modern times, at the end of the nineteenth century, because of its highly syncretic character, combining together Buddhist, Daoist, shamanic and *kami*-worship (the local deities) elements. In its place, the so-called State Shinto was established, namely a new cult strongly based on a chauvinist rhetoric of refusal of the “foreign” traditions imported from the continent. Such state cult intended to assert the uniqueness of Japanese race and native gods, whose direct descendant and vicar on earth was considered to be the emperor. In the post-war years however, with the end of this nationalistic ideology, several Shugendō groups emerged again, trying to resume the syncretic thousand-year-old tradition, *de facto* reinventing its memory. In my paper, drawing from ethnographic data collected on fieldwork in 2008 and 2009, I will analyse the performance of ritual invocations connected to a particular pilgrimage route – the Katsuragi *nijūhasshuku kyōzuka*, or “The Twenty-Eight Sūtra Burial Mounds” of Katsuragi mountain range, in central Japan – involving ascetics from the Shugendō temple Tenpōrinji on the top of Mt. Kongō (1125 m). Analysis of this ritual will shed light not only on its syncretic composition and the inclusion of new values (as e.g. the love for ‘nature’), but also on the complex character of its enunciators (Severi 2004), both human (the leader) and nonhuman (the divinity), towards which trust and belief seem to be constructed more on doubt than on certainty. A doubt produced, as we will see, by the ritual dynamic itself, and extended on places and routes of the ancient pilgrimage now resumed, for the group members are not able to exactly trace its past boundaries anymore. Accordingly, the paper intends to explore such dynamics of religious creativity with regard to the reinvention of a ‘tradition’, understood as common reconstruction of a lost memory and identity, based on a ‘dubious remembering’.

The Complexion of God: Sacred Creativity, Race, and Color in Father Divine’s Peace Mission Movement

Leonard Norman Primiano, Cabrini College, U.S.A., primiano@cabrini.edu

For the last twenty years, I have been engaged in an ethnographic study of the American indigenous intentional celibate utopian religious community known as Father Divine’s International Peace Mission Movement. As a scholar of American religion and American folklore and folklife, I have been specifically focusing my ethnographic and analytic attention on their religious expressive culture and how that expressive culture of architecture, song, food, photography, etc. maintains stability and cohesion within this historically inter-racial, but highly African-American, belief-centered sectarian religion. This session on Sacred Creativity presents a wonderful opportunity for me to engage in the notion of creativity and race as it relates to the Peace Mission, which though reduced in numbers and aging to the point of possible future extinction, still represent a viable local urban community in the United States for study and a vibrant example of an American spiritualized aesthetics of color.

The Reverend M. J. Divine, better known as Father Divine, was an African American religious leader who began his communitarian religion in Sayville, Long Island, in 1919. He moved it to New

York City's Harlem in 1932, and then to Philadelphia in 1942. Peace Mission followers believe that Father Divine was an incarnation of the Christian Creator God who has come to deliver them from the afflictions of race hatred and associated economic hardship in America. He was one of the earliest proponents of the civil rights and economic self-empowerment of African Americans in the racist age of Jim Crow. An early integrationist, he extended his enactment of racial equality to every aspect of the Movement's life from their liturgical services to the sleeping accommodations for the followers, to the businesses that the membership established. These efforts included the operation of the several large hotels in cities such as Philadelphia, Newark, and Jersey City on the United States East Coast which were the only integrated fine hotels in these cities for several decades until the changes marked by the 1960s Civil Rights Movement.

Father Divine's sensitivity to the reality of the way color was used to mark himself and his followers drew him to ban the use of the terms "white" and "black," as well as even more openly racist words, from the very speech of his followers and within his own sermonizing. The positive consciousness and physical reality of human beings could not be reduced by classifications of color in the theology of race and color that Father Divine developed. Referring to his followers as "light and dark complected" [sic] in a complicated solution to what he considered racist epithets, Father Divine taught that "blackness" was understood in world cultures as an evil color, the color of criminality and immorality. Wishing to eliminate that negative implication from the consciousness and everyday lives of himself and his followers, as well as any "person of darker complexion" in the United States and internationally, his Church grew to include followers in Panama, Australia, New Zealand, England, Germany, France, and Switzerland. Father Divine even forbade his Movement's newspaper from publishing any image of himself that he felt illustrated his skin tone as excessively dark. In another act of racial color balance, Father Divine spiritually married a "light-complected" Canadian follower in 1946, and "Mother Divine" remains the living matriarch and exemplar of the Movement.

This panel offers the perfect occasion for me to address the theoretical issues of vernacular religion and vernacular creativity in the context of Father Divine's theology of race and color, as well as on how his sensitivity to color was extended to the lives of his followers outside of concern for the primary racial meaning of black and white to the positive intersection of color as an affirmation of equality and integration in their everyday lives. Currently, a core of this celibate population persists in Philadelphia maintaining Father Divine's standards of integrated color-blind living, yet also perpetuating a visible expression of diversity through the embodiment of color in their daily interactions. My examination of their sectarian creativity is focused on the spiritualized meaning of colors used in the arrangement of flowers -- as well as the spiritualized art of flower arranging itself by the female adherents of Father and Mother Divine for their religious spaces, places, and ritual occasions. This deliberate use of texture and color in flowers is indicative of a theology of race and spiritualized aesthetics of color which lie at the core of this Movement and Father Divine's vision for humanity. I have recently started taking photographs highlighting the use of color in Peace Mission flower arrangements and plan to use these photographs as the foundation for formal ethnographic interviews with Mother Divine herself and members of the Movement concerning their understandings of the importance of color in their lives. My central ethnographic consultants will be the female followers whose responsibility it is to grow, cultivate, and harvest flowers in Peace Mission organic gardens, then creating floral arrangements for Peace Mission spaces and places.

The importance of interacting with color is a significant part of Peace Mission sectarian living, exemplified beautifully in their creativity with flower arranging, and associated with other aspects of their lives such as employing distinctively bright colors in dress during ritual occasions. The deliberate use of texture and color in flowers, and in other expressive aspects of their lives such as clothing, is indicative of a remarkable joined theology of race and spiritualized aesthetics of color which is begging to be studied in its American distinctiveness in this Movement's unique sense of beauty. The engagement with fellow Sacred Creativity panel members at this conference -- all working on this theme -- will be a definite asset for my own analytical thinking.

Inside and outside the margins. The revival of female shamanism in Eastern Siberia

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In 1928 Robert Park defined marginality as a limbo between two worlds. As a result, the “marginal man” was seen as an hybrid, «sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples never quite willing to break . . . with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted. . . on the margins of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused» (1928: 892). He applied his definition of marginality mostly to migration contexts. He referred to the marginal man as a “new type of personality” which was emerging out of rapid human migratory patterns during the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

Park’s concept since then has been redefined over time (see, for instance Stonequist, 1937, Dennis, 1991, Dickie-Clark 1966). One of the last definitions of marginality, meant in a cultural dimension, is provided by Rutledge Dennis (2005): he states that marginalization is never outdated, regarding it as one of the most prominent issues of the modern world. He discusses what he calls “the dual marginality” through which he expresses the paradoxical attitude embedded in the marginality as a term, believing that marginality does not indicate only the outsiders who are rejected from the social sphere. He rather shows that marginalized people are both “outsiders as insiders” and “insiders as outsiders”. They are not totally invisible, but they are merely disregarded.

This last definition seems to fit particularly the case of women shamans in Eastern Siberia, outsiders as insiders between two fires: marginality and invisibility.

As in many areas of Siberia, in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) too, a Sovereign Republic of the Russian Federation in the Russian Far East, the existence of women shamans has been witnessed since the first ethnographic accounts.

If compared to male shamans, though, women have always been considered differently. On one hand they have been regarded as outcasts, both as shamans and as women. On the other they have been ignored. In these accounts the impression is that female shamanism, in the nineteenth century, was something that had to be either ignored or considered as going beyond acceptable norms of behaviour. Both approaches marked women shamans’ alterity, both as women and shamans.

Soviet times, propaganda against shamanism and a 1924 law condemning it, tried to curtail the practice for both genders. The fall of the soviet regime opened a wide space for freedom and self-assertion to the native peoples of Siberia, who were colonised and repressed for decades: the major priority was to redefine their ethnic image so as to claim an identity suitable for their new political status. As a result, in the Sakha Republic there emerged a clear orientation toward national uniqueness and local distinctiveness, represented by the reestablishment of elements belonging to Sakha culture, both material and nonmaterial. In this respect, shamanism lay at the center of the new debate on Sakha identity.

The revival of shamanism in the past twenty years has meant not only the return of actual shamans in the Sakha religious arena in our own day, but also a blossoming of interest in shamanism in the field of the fine arts, with theatre performances, films and art exhibitions devoted to the subject, as well as the (re)publication of a fair amount of books on shamans and shamanism by a variety of authors (writers, journalists, ethnographers, pre-Soviet ethnographers, and shamans themselves).

One of the major source of inspiration for these intellectuals have been *Olonkho* poems, epic texts dealing with ancient knights' deeds, regarded as the ancestors and defenders of the Sakha people. In the majority of *Olonkho* the main heroes are knights who interact with or are protected by women shamans. The *Olonkho* poems are literary works of fiction, but in the past two decades they have been so influential that general hypotheses on the birth and development of shamanism have been formulated using them as a starting point.

In this respect, a relevant role is given to women shamans who, with their male counterparts, have been apparently restored.

But, still, there is something which differentiates the revival of male from female shamanism.

The two approaches to female shamanism documented in early ethnographic accounts seem to remain unaltered: many people I spoke to during my fieldworks wouldn’t want to identify precise

women considered shamans or speak of women shamans for fear that something bad might occur to them, arguing that women shamans are much more powerful and dangerous than male shamans. Some of my informants even denied their existence, stating that real women shamans lived in the past but nowadays such women are no more, as if they wanted to fix their image in a remote time and space.

Others, instead, affirmed that women shamans still live and practice in our own day, but they simply “turned” into *extrasens*, a western term applied to people who own extraordinary skills like clairvoyance. Extrasens are not shamans, they are something less (less powerful, less dangerous, less marginal?) but they can heal, set broken bones, foretell the future, give blessings at public festivals and ceremonies, purify houses and people...in a word they do exactly what women shamans did. What is the difference between an extrasens and a woman shaman, then? This question has not found an answer yet, since there is not a common version of the differences between them.

In this respect a few concluding remarks should be made: to which extent marginality can be considered such? Is there a “degree of marginality” which can be measured? And, how can the issues and the theoretical debate on marginality contribute and be applied to the study of female shamanism?

THE ETHNOGRAPHER'S BODY AS HEURISTIC INSTRUMENT

Convenor: Chiara Bassetti, Università di Trento, chiara.bassetti@unitn.it

THE ETHNOGRAPHER'S BODY AS HEURISTIC INSTRUMENT I

Thursday 5th 16.00-19.00 – 2 SA

The sociologist as cruiser. (Auto-)ethnographic selves, masculinities and race in male sex work arenas

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This paper explores the ways male sex workers negotiate and redefine their gender and their sexual roles when involved in non-normative sexual acts with other men. The research uses a multi-method approach based mainly on a) field notes collected in ethnographic observation of cruising areas, semi-public and public locales in which sexual transactions take place in two southern Mediterranean Italian cities (Naples and Palermo), and b) in depth interviews with sex workers and clients. The main aims of the paper is to address the underestimated and neglected phenomenon of street's sex working stratification especially in terms of ethnicity, sexual orientation, the relative construction of identity and sexual practices (i.e. top vs. bottom) and age and physical appearance. Through the ongoing research process, I am trying to understand how the link between sexuality, gender, and processes of racialisation can result in forms of social structuring. It's worth noting how especially the position of migrant sex workers in a hierarchical system, in which they occupy the lower levels, serves to maintain a market of what I call lumpen-erotic racial(ised) services' arena. The whole process must be considered in the context of a neoliberal economy in which, although the immigrant acquires "value" (or is "devalued") as a sexual object, he is both sexualised and racialised. Such processes, which can't be more thoroughly examined here, are of particular interest if we consider the convergence of social class, sexuality and ethno-racial factors in the construction of male sexualised subjects. The difficult process of data collecting and of the access to the field of sex working urge the author to position his identity into the field as white gay middle-class scholar and to pay attention to the interplay and intersection of multidimensional identity strategies and structuring forces which revealed not only the pressures from hegemonic masculinity model existing in the larger society but also, especially within the interlocking of sexual orientation and ethnic features, the stigmatization sex workers suffered from their (immigrants') ethnic group, within homosexual community and host societies. Quite complex the role of the researcher-observer when dealing with structuring categories such social class, racial and ethnic features, sexual identity. Data is still being collected, and I've been prompted to wonder about the role of the researcher and the co-subjects of research in sex work. Marx responds to the question "What is a Negro slave?" in *Wage Labour and Capital* (1847) by saying that it is "A man of the black race. ... A Negro is a Negro. Only under certain conditions does he become a slave. [...]. In the process of production, human beings work not only upon nature, but also upon one another. They produce only by working together in a specified manner and reciprocally exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations to one another, and only within these social connections and relations does their influence upon nature operate – i.e., does production take place." Marx's affirmations can be applied to our understanding of the social relationships involved in sex work and in its social organisation. Even I, as observer, am not dis-involved, and cannot avoid taking a

position. I am implicated in the production of different subjectivities, as a researcher and also as a white, middle-class, able, homosexual male. These aspects make the phenomenon complex, heterogenous and polysemous. Often in academic research and in social work, male sex work is seen to go hand in hand with juvenile delinquent behaviour, exploitation, addiction; others, in academia and in general, emphasise the idea of homosexuality as strange, as a vice hidden in the stations, doorways and historic centres of our cities. It is undoubtedly an “embarrassing” and awkward subject, for academia (always excitable), for essentialists feminists *à la* MacKinnon and Dworkin, who would not have considered the possibility that the male body could also be subjected to the gaze of other men so also becoming an ‘object’, and even for *normalised* homosexual communities, fearful of the existence of individuals who may undermine neoliberal standards of (normalised) citizenship. The ongoing analysis of data revealed how sexual identities within sex working are as volatile as stigmatized according to the different characteristics of social actors and implies a queer epistemological and methodological investigation which highly re-negotiate (sexual) identity of researchers during the process of data collection and the necessity of redefining the subjects of the research as co-researcher. Data also reveal the competences and forms of resistance and *agency* of the individuals involved: a) victimisation and exploitation are not always intrinsic to these activities; some individuals choose it for economic reasons, others experiment with sexual practices which are frowned upon in their culture or in their host culture; b) sex work is not in itself related to violence and abuse, and we must pay attention to cultural representations and to the legislation which regulates it, and which makes it a deplorable, marginal, illegitimate. Future research must look into two things: firstly, the construction of masculinity and sexuality, and their relationship to power, social class and ethnic inequality; secondly, the risks intrinsic to policies of normalisation within (male) homosexual communities, and the creation of “new standards” of citizenship. The question to be asked is whether the factors which determine the production of new subjectivities function as standards for new forms of normalisation and reification. We can’t separate considerations on sex work from a wider structural analysis of socio-economic factors, which determine the conditions through which certain sexual practices, behaviour and identities emerge, and not others. We can’t tire of examining in depth the emerging subjectivities, the invisible phenomena, or that which is taken for granted, and we must endeavour to understand how individuals move within structural contingencies, gaining power and privileges, or losing them, investing resources and practicing strategies and tactics of identity, negotiating resources and trying to elude control. These aspects are very much evident in acts of male (homo)sexual exchange. Essentially, it is a matter of realising how we are all implicated, men and women, in sex work.

Corporal experience of limits and the direction of vulnerability. The body and the sensoriality as an analytical process in a swinger club of Barcelona.

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In the last times, feminist anthropologies have perceived it as indispensable the consideration of the body as place (and as a process) itself, like a microlandscape (Gellner, 2009) of experimentation, and a strategic place of hesitation and ethnographic production. This research often presents an elevated degree of tension and it prevents the ethnographer to escape from her own responsibility. At the same time, it forces one to undress, not only the own analytical limitations, but as Esteban (2004) mentions, the obscure and not obscure spots of experience which are either emotional, or physical and sensorial, or identitary, or erotic-sexual, etc.

So, the particular direction of reflexivity appears as a political weapon (Minh.ha, 1989). At the same time, it appears as an inherent resource of scientific practice. A self reflexivity that uncovers not only the potential external variables (Rosaldo, 1989), but it also uncovers the interlocking systems of oppression and privilege that go through the ethnographer’s body in the field (following the words of Patricia Hill Collin, 1990). This process points out the internal variables that make up the ethnographic view. By understanding the body as a “material process of social interaction”

(Esteban, 2004), the anthropologist is forced to have a dialogue with the discipline from the subjective/corporal, from a body of experimentation in conflict with the most entrenched incorporation. This is a trip applied to the ethnographic practice that implies a movement. Beyond the loss of the awareness or rejection of the scientific view, it's a situational choice that aims at accepting potential variables that often involve a risk for the anthropologist.

A swinger club in the city of Barcelona is the ethnographic field where the present contribution is delimited. This is the place that the people who perform cross-dressing frequently visit. A place where the possibility of erotic-sexual exchange and the different logics of relationship, acknowledgement and the practice regulation occur, not only in function of the private dynamic of taste and the architecture of choice (Illouz, 2012), but it also of the multiple intersectional axes. Social class, identity and/or generic-sexual expression, desire orientation, origin or places of residence, age, proximity with legitimated discourses, etc., are vectors that do not appear as a static way, but they oblige an analysis really absorbed in a profound dynamism. A sexual field where the people count on different resources to establish the exchange, which is often experimented by people who perform cross-dressing in terms of competition.

Trough the present contribution I aim at taking a particular approach at the margins of risk where the ethnographer operates, in the "sense relations" but also in the strength relations that go through the corporality and the sensorial experiences of the anthropologist in the swinger club. A field where the wish and the desire circulate, regulated by the law of supply and demand, the law of shortage and superabundance. But, the wish and the desire also circulate regulated by the margin of benefit in the sexual field –among people who perform cross-dressing-, in terms of femininity production and in terms of collective reinforcement (recognition, safety, etc.). It is a sexual field where the flirting among people who perform cross-dressing (and other people who are often men identifying themselves as heterosexual), appears in a closer relation with the presence or not presence of "bio-women" in the field (using "emic" concepts). It is a field that forces the anthropologist to take a constant review of her own theoretical and emotional trajectory. It forces her to take a constant review of discursive memory and the corporal archive, and to validate her own resources and potentials to be in the field. All of these change the signification of what is perceived.

It is an ethnography where the corporal dimension and the impact of intensive emotions forces one to question the structure of one's own wish and desire. It also forces a review of the feelings that arise in front of sensitive experiences. These are experiences of an erotico-sexual character that seem not to belong to familiar realities themselves. A field where the anthropologist is interpellated by the assumptions which work for her until that moment and which help her to make sense to her particular experience (León, 2011).

Nevertheless, it is an experience that appears with a strong confusion of senses. The body and the bodies establish some boundaries, symbolic limits, that often go through discourse itself. And it is there where the direction of instability and the vulnerability of the anthropologist appear, from the corporal and affective experience of the limit, of limits. At the same time, from the assertiveness and the control of these limits. It is the responsibility of the research and of the field itself from a situational choice –which also implies the presence and not presence in certain spaces of the local-, which forces a negotiation and a constant regulation of the corporal contact.

So, the states of alert, rejection and aversion also become indispensable information that go through corporality itself. The attraction-rejection/desire-fear oxymoron becomes a specific form of the relationship with the "Other". At the same time, it shows the relationship with oneself and the limits of research itself. Relationships forms that integrate the own identitary resources which, following León (2011), constitute an own "I" like a sacred object. Nevertheless, these are states of alert that trace borders closely related to the oppression and the privilege axes of the ethnographer, as I mention at the beginning of the article.

Erotic auto-ethnographies: Interactive and conflicting embodiments of the encounter with the other

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In contrast to the current technocratic bent of the social sciences, a number of research practices are consolidating at the intersection of post-exotic anthropologies (Clifford 1992) and feminist studies that put the corporeal dimension at the centre of their methodologies, thus founding eccentric epistemological paradigms outside of disciplinary science. Specifically, the intersection of these approaches shows that the encounter with the other in the field implies researchers as sexualised and “racialised” subjects, and that these characteristics influence desires, norms and research practices.

Drawing from the theories of implication and *être prise* of Jeanne Favret Saada (Saada 1977), this paper analyses how the researchers’ bodies may become actual living field notes (Wacquant 1995), on which signs, symptoms and emotions are inscribed. If we recognise that linking one’s corporeal experience to the research process and the social context is scientifically necessary to obtain a cultural analysis of reality, then we need to develop forms of embodied auto-anthropology (Esteban 2004).

Our contribution reflects on the epistemological dynamics of studies of gender and sexuality in the context of social movements. How are researchers’ bodies reflexively involved in this field of inquiry? What forms of interactive and conflicting embodiment are established through the encounter with research subjects? How do these take place in the case of intra-gender relations?

We intend to answer these questions using data from two studies of lesbian feminist movements and women’s associations. In doing so, we will link two research experiences: a “nearby” European one and a “faraway” Latin-American one. The former deals with political and associative practices of lesbian and antiracist movements in Italy: the latter with a self-managed centre for homeless girls in Guatemala. The aim is to adopt a plural perspective and thus to give value to collaboration among researchers.

Both studies are the result of the researchers’ engagement with the social movements in question. On what basis can a relation between the researcher and her subjects be created, when the researcher is involved first hand in struggles for the reconfiguration of gender norms? Should we give value to the sharing of engagement in the research setting?

Kulick and Willson (1995) point out that settings characterised by passions and shared struggles are connoted by an intrinsic eroticism. The two anthropologists argue that recognising the erotic dimension of research subjectivities, together with the opportunities and difficulties that this dimension implies, contributes to create a richer understanding of reality and to question the asymmetry between the researcher and her subjects.

Starting from a brief excursus of the role that the erotic has had in feminist (Anzaldúa 1987, Lorde 1978, Zamboni 2009) and anthropological (Altork 1995, Blackwood 1993 e 1995, Cesara 1982, Newton 1993, Spronk 2014) studies, and bearing in mind the results of our own studies, we have asked ourselves: to what extent should we re-evaluate erotic engagement? What emotions, desires and unexpected conflicts emerge from this strategy?

We will pay attention to the ways in which the fieldwork experience changes when love and/or sexual relationships are established. Sex with research subjects is often considered a taboo in Western academia, which sees it as a compromising and unscientific element. On the contrary, we want to understand how it influences access to the field, data collection, positional asymmetry and the research process as a whole. Our fieldwork tells us that establishing erotic relations renews the participation of research subjects. Is it possible to talk about the self-selection of subjects?

In this context, the self-representation and positionality of the researcher are transformed. Incorporating the erotic dimension generates a loss of control and accentuates psychic and physical vulnerability. What happens to the predefined identity of the researcher, which is usually premised

on the distancing from the research object? When she loses this stand, who does the researcher become? What is the scientific legitimacy of knowledge elaborated from corporeal experiences and unforeseen transformations of the self?

How can we do research on identity, gender and sexual processes, when the field itself destabilises the researcher's body through events that transform her sexuality? Comparing the Italian and Guatemalan fields will allow us to highlight the differences that need to be addressed when one does research "at home" as a native, or in a postcolonial context as a foreigner. How does the process of "becoming an expert" change in relation to different codes of bodily behaviour? Is being a native a privileged position?

Our contribution will recount the ways in which the researchers have confronted the failure of the traditional anthropological method, thanks to the help of the queer art (Halberstam 2011) of recomposing the research body through the value of the erotic. This work involved a process of de-structuring of the self with respect to our cultural and academic contexts of origin, but also the acknowledgement of the corporeal, conceptual and political filters that orient data collection. This intense re-elaboration engenders the need to revise the relation with our research subjects and to propose forms of co/auto-ethnography (Coia and Taylor 2009).

THE ETHNOGRAPHER'S BODY AS HEURISTIC INSTRUMENT II.

Saturday 7th 9.00-12.00 – 1 SA

Doing History Together. Sensory Ethnography and Knowledge Circulation as Vacation-Performance

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Focusing on the interdependencies of corporeal and emotional experience and the performance of vacation and history constructions, this work investigates touristic practices of hiking and mountaineering, their materialities, as well as the management of later memories. This involves an examination of a network of themed hiking trails near the location of the Iceman's discovery. A performative perspective is instrumentalized in relating hikers' experiences to individual interpretations about human life in prehistory. Since the writing culture debate (Clifford, Marcus 1986), specialist literature has thoroughly discussed the necessity of reflecting subjectivity in designing and writing ethnography. Yet little attention has been paid to the role of both the ethnographer's and the participant's experiences in collaboratively creating and circulating cultural knowledge. Drawing the consequences of the performative turn (Fischer-Lichte 2004), the impact on ethnographer's sensory experiences on the gathering and analysis of research material, e.g. interviews, should be reflected as well: How does implicit knowledge of the ethnographer contribute to ethnographic research? How do the practices of research interfere with practices of the research object? How do the ethnographer's and the participant's shared experiences become sources of knowledge?

The ethnographic material that will be discussed is based on long-term fieldwork that involved methods, which were spatially and temporally mobile. It was conducted in the Austrian and Italian Alps, as well as in the everyday surroundings of the participants one year after the first encounter between ethnographer and participant. Tourist practices could therefore be analyzed in a wider context than only within the time span of the actual vacation. The ethnographer questioned the epistemic quality of hiking while experiencing several ways of hiking or mountaineering along and with the participants and also while venturing single tours. The main interest laid in the sensory and emotional practices that belong to the performances of alpine vacations. Analysis of the (auto)ethnographic material was supplemented by the ethnographer's attendance of a psychoanalytical supervision group (Becker et al 2013), which was intended to facilitate reflection

on the observed and participated-in performances and the shared cultural modes of experience. The ethnographic recovery and application of the senses and emotions are a polymorphic field. Emotions are unique in that they are simultaneously somatic as well as cognitive. They depend on and construct the body. Drawing from a praxeological perspective, in ethnographic research, emotions may be understood as “emotional practices,” or experiences that are undergone in order to have, regulate, or manage feelings (Scheer 2012). Fieldwork on emotional practices must draw from a wide range of conceptualizations and approaches to sense and emotion. Regina Bendix, Tim Edensor, Katrin Lund, and Sarah Pink, whose works focus on the sensory creation of spatial knowledge, were especially influential for this project. Sarah Pink in particular has underscored the bodily co-presence of ethnographer and participant as a basis for interviews, as well as for the collective creation of an understanding of space. Consequently, Pink incorporated the ethnographer’s constructive role in her research design (Pink 2009). In terms of spatial knowledge, walking not only creates an inner landscape, and an idea about the surface of the earth (Ingold 2011), but it also determines orders of knowledge. The proposed paper will reflect on the characteristics of alpine modes of movement as epistemic practice (de Certeau 1988, Hall 2009). The researcher’s interpretations of the gathered material, as well as the history constructions of the participants always relate to their own (hiking) experiences in the Alps and elsewhere. Although the ethnography of tourism resembles tourist practices, the researcher did not become a tourist. Despite the fact that she walked the same trails as the participants of her study, strained herself, shared the same food, enjoyed the same views, she was, according to her own interpretation, not performing vacation, but work. Nevertheless, during the research, the ethnographer acquired skills, which resembled those of her participants. These were, for example, strategies to structure the territory, to estimate the quality and safety of weather and terrain in advance, and to develop an own rhythm, pace, and special technique to quickly descend a mountain. She saw and engaged with materializations of regional myths. She trained herself to manage fear in the high alpine regions and observed the physical and emotional shifts that accompanied the ongoing, daily exercise of hiking in the mountains. The ethnographer’s changing bodily concepts interrelated with those of the field contacts. For example, during interviews and shared hikes, the ethnographer and the participants compared their impressions with each other. They distinguished, altered, or identified their emotional practices and experiences in relation to the other. As a result, they modulated individual knowledge stocks and orders that matched their emotional hiking practices.

In addition, this research experience entailed a new and seemingly comprehensive spatial knowledge. The corporeal experiences of extensive hiking, ongoing movement through the area of research, and the physical situation at a high point in the landscape corresponded with imaginative understandings of the territory that had been developed via the study of hiking maps, visiting regional museums, and watching movies. While in the mountains, the researcher was able to visualize maps seen prior to the fieldwork, relate them to her overview perspective, and locate herself geographically without having to compare map and landscape for the sake of orientation. Through this connection, she experienced a profound understanding of her location in the world. Later, while analyzing an expert interview on the characteristics of the region, and with this personal experience in mind, she finally began to understand participants’ narrations, which had formerly seemed so cryptic.

The body’s research: navigating ethics, trust and tacit knowledge in ethnographic research.
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Disconnecting from one’s physical body is natural, especially when there is misalignment between thinking and feeling. When the body does not perform or operate in the way one might wish or need, it is easy to feel separate and even hostile. Despite established opposition to Cartesian dualism, rational thought often remains in contrast to the emotional body, especially in formal research. While growing interest in embodiment and the body has increased, there is a lingering

distrust of emotional, sensual body knowledge. Even within sensorial data collection, sight and hearing—senses of the mind—are considered more valuable than bodily functions of touch, taste and smell (Howes & Classen, 2013). This lingering separation of mind and body does a disservice to their interconnected relationship. Lucy Lippard (1997), a writer and art critic, states that as “we enter a new place, we become one of the ingredients of an existing hybridity... [Therefore] by entering that hybrid, we change it; and in each situation we play a different role” (p.6). This emplaced and embedded description is out of place within quantitative and traditional qualitative research methodology, which sees the observing, objective researcher as external to the system. Even within many participatory methods, the researcher is often considered separate from the research rather than a co-creator. In these collaborative situations, the value of tacit knowledge held by researchers becomes integral to the research process and decision-making. However understanding how this relational and embodied practice impacts the research[er] is less clear. In a society that operates foremost on external rules and guidelines, what happens when research leaves the confines of verbal and written methods into more tacitly driven techniques? Sara Pink (2009), a sensory ethnographer, speaks of how the “analysis of experiential, imaginative, sensorial and emotional dimensions of ethnography is itself often an intuitive, messy and sometimes serendipitous task” (p. 119). So the question arises, *If the research body becomes a tool, how do we use it? What new skills are required of the researcher for an embodied research process?*

Drawing from my experience as a Masters student in Applied Human Sciences and my current program as a PhD student in an interdisciplinary graduate program, I have engaged in an ongoing auto-ethnography of my own embodied or inner research process and the tension of externally imposed expectations and guidelines. Rooted in Maturana and Varela’s (1992) notions of immediate coping and of structural coupling—the co-evolution of environment and subject—this paper explores the dynamic and evolving relationship between the researcher, system and environment. As boundaries blur with interdisciplinary work, they are also blurring between researchers and the researched (Burgess, 2006). This immersive and reflexive state requires a different type of researcher, one that draws from personal and tacit experience and that is implicated in the results. Becoming embedded in the research requires deep engagement at a personal level (Haslebo, & Haslebo, 2012). This relational process increases the importance of internal ethical judgment and trust. As researchers leave the laboratory and become active participants triggering change (Proulx, 2010), high levels of self-awareness are necessary to ethically navigate this embodied and relational practice. So, *what does it mean to trust our body? Can we safely make decisions based on intuition?* By investigating the interconnectedness and co-determination of mind, body and environment, (Howes, 2005; Pink, 2011), one can begin to access a more complete and nuanced knowledge system. This sensory ethnographic concept draws ideas of place into notions of embodiment. How one feels and acts in particular environments is both socially and physically conditioned and is manifested through “everyday ways of sensing and acting techniques of walking, eating, gesturing, looking [and] touching”(Howes & Classen, 2012, p.74). It is also through these everyday impulses that one taps into intrinsic insight. In fact, through paying attention to our internal response system, Varela (1999) points out that these automatic impulses provide a more authentic picture of our individual moral framework. In these split-second actions we access our immediate coping, which he says represent “the most common kind of ethical behaviour” (p.5). This contrasts with what Varela refers to as deliberate, willed action, which can be explained based on conceived and arguable goals. The significance of looking at our reactive state in the context of this paper is not to dismiss learned behaviour and the guidelines or norms born from experience, but to examine how researchers engage their intrinsic operating systems, which include tacit knowledge, and which have systematically been diminished while a reliance on more rational rules and regulations have increased. I believe this dependence on societal norms and ethical guidelines has fostered a generic right and wrong way of thinking which has numerous consequences. Research is becoming simultaneously dependent on and restricted by this way of operating. When faced with decision-making, questions around what is good or right are asked rather than “adjudicating particular situations” (Varela, 1999, p.3). This modality can create an internal conflict between ones

‘immediate coping’ mechanisms and their professional or institutional obligations. As researchers, norms and guidelines are not negative, they often prevent unethical work. However, when trust becomes dependence and reliance overshadows internal wisdom, the ability to negotiate and make decisions is reduced.

Perception is embedded through generations of societal conditioning and norms around how to operate. Every body has a unique sensory aptitude and cultural structure or ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1990) through which it functions. Society, specifically western society, has become more mechanistic in the way it operates and relates to one-another (Howes & Classen, 2013). It thus becomes essential to draw from the somatic process through which the environment, the researcher and the researched “are bringing forth and brought into being because of their relationships to each other” (Pink, 2007, p.193). In drawing attention to unplanned and unconstrained impulses, researchers can begin to access their most honest experience. However this process requires more than reflexivity, it requires active engagement and constant openness. This never-ending practice of self-study and personal intervention becomes a literal rewriting of one’s neural pathways (Siegel, 2012) to maintain and increase one’s comprehension of newness.

The research process can take many forms, all of which are contingent on the self and environment. The guidelines researchers are supposed to follow often do not apply or contradict one’s lived experience. In these moments, it is important for the researcher to reflect on their level of self-awareness as it connects to their body and environment, so that in the field they can rely on and incorporate their somatic knowledge and awareness.

Listening in Dance: Working Rhythmically with a Generalized Other?

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What happens when people make new movements together? How do dancers predict and synchronize their individual moves in order to build up a duet, a trio or a quartet? We interviewed the dancers of a professional London-based neoclassical dance company in order to explore how they work together. Neuroscientists and musicologists refer to entrainment in joint action (Gallese et al, 2004; Phillips-Silver & Keller, 2010) as the inertia that drags dancers and musicians into synchronizing the beats and tempo of a phrase or a melody. Dreyfus (1996), following Merleau-Ponty (1945), describes the power of solicitations, such as the other’s body, as Gestalt attractions that prompts us into moving. The phenomenological stance captures the existing literature in dance theory, with concepts such as that of body awareness or the optimal state of flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996). This approach connects the body with space awareness in the field of perception and somatics. While entrainment, spacing and feelings of flow are all part of the experience of dancers, we claim that dancers make decisions in partnering that go beyond synchronizing their moves with a parametrical other. The body, as Goffman (1961) points out, features in focused interactions such as partnering. Simmel (1908) claims that mutual glances are the first form of reciprocity. Thus, the roles of interaction are made of embodied emotions and attitudes, but are also a recipient for social actions, such as dance moves and a meaningful gaze.

In order to find out the rhythm of partnering, we looked for the dancers’ patterns of interaction and defined the communication modalities at stake. Listening seems to be a relevant phenomenon in the dancers’ routine in rehearsals. During our ethnographical observations, the dancers put forward several episodes where “Things went wrong” because “someone was not listening”. Their framing of the partnering experience as a communicative event is the object of this paper. More specifically, our interview questions explore the term listening in the dancers’ narratives, taken as an important skill for partnering. We asked them to describe their work when creating a phrase in a duet, pointing out details on the specific modalities effectively in use. We then ask them about partnering as communication, as improvisation and as a form of dialog. We also wanted to know what made a dancer’s partner a good listener, and whether they considered themselves to be one. Finally, we asked them to compare partnering with another type of rehearsing routine. Namely, when the

dancers in a duet follow the choreographer who is making on the dancers in the company. We analyzed the interviews, which were filmed, in Atlas.ti and Elan, following a grounded theory approach (Corbin & Strauss, 1990), and a multimodal stance, taking into account not only what they say but their body actions and moves as well.

Our preliminary results shed some light on the sequence of interaction in partnering.

When the dancers compare partnering with another type of rehearsing activity, such as in a choreographer's make, the differences in rhythm in between partnering and making become apparent. In making, the dancers follow the choreographer's movements with no cognitive references aside from the information that comes from the reference. All dancers stress the speed of decision-making, how they try to follow the choreographer to the second, and just do the steps with no further thought or feeling. In partnering, the dancers not only move together, but also think together, in the act of sharing visualizations, narratives and reasons for action.

There is a specific intersubjective rhythm that comes across the dancers' interviews. When creating in a duet, a successful outcome (that is, new and original moves "that feel right") is the product of 1) Sharing individual feelings, visualizations and other cognitive and emotional information to each other 2) Moving together to embody these images 3) Coming up with new images or narratives that are attached to the previous dancing and 4) Making and fixing new steps that are made together. Steps 1, 2 & 4 in this creative process can be explained by synchronization, entrainment or body awareness. Still, Step 3 involves re-framing the previous social interaction (Bateson 1972, Goffmann, 1974) and thus not only communicating individual feelings or thoughts, but producing a shared cognitive representation that is new and didn't previously exist. We located the dancers' term listening in this specific moment of activity, in the more general context of partnering.

Moreover, two distinctive patterns of interaction appear among the dancers. On the one hand, dancers with a contemporary background are confident of their listening skills, and they feel partnering is a dynamic process which involves a lot of trying out, improvisation and overall moving, expressing themselves in terms of somatic and awareness terms. On the other hand, dancers with a ballet training are insecure about their listening skills, they tend to formalize sequences of steps, and they rather verbalize their options in order to make a joint decision with their partner before creating a new step together. Thus, while the term listening appears to be central in all narratives as an important skill in dancing, there are differences in the type of modalities used as well as divergences in the sequences of interaction for all co-participants. Contemporary rhythms seem to be more flexible, open and dynamic, while the classic tempo is more rigid, closed and linear.

Thanks to this microanalysis of interaction and discourse, we are able to locate listening in the dancers' creative process. In terms of Sennet (2012), who constructs the notion of cooperation as a dialogical outcome, good partners in dancing seem to be good listeners that are curious of each other. The rhythm of partnering seems to be closer to a conversation than to other types of dance training. Two key elements seem to be paramount in the shaping of the dancers interaction: the object of the interaction, whether is to create new movements that were not there before (partnering) or to teach moves that have already been created (making); and the dancers' training, which produces individual preferences related to rhythm of interaction in partnering, the type of modality used and their degree of confidence.

In all, we show here that listening is an important step in the creative process of partnering. As a type of social skill, it is learned in the dancers' training and acted upon in the material context of the studio. The cognitive distribution of shared visualizations and narratives is a necessary requirement for achieving the right rhythm in partnering. The dancers must share a common narrative as the means for completing the action of the other. Listening is not only an embodied activity, but also distributed in different rhythms across dancers in rehearsal.

The ethnographer body and mental illness: when the word is made flesh
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The paper presents a theoretical reflection based on the findings of a research developed during a year with diagnosed persons of Severe Mental Disorders (SMD). The fieldwork has been done with affected people and their relatives linked to two associations.

The article proposes that mental illness is not just a chronic disease, understood from a biomedical view, but also a “chronic pain” in so far as it is a phenomenological experience for diagnosed person and also for persons who daily live with them. In this way, pain is comprehended as a simultaneously pre-objective feeling and emotion.

Severe Mental Disease, which in most cases was diagnosed with Schizophrenia, means a series of pain and malaise that are not just physiological from the characteristics and specificity included in nosological entity, but goes beyond and involves an holistic cognizance of the body.

I try to make emphasis in phenomena and events that are embodied; which supposes for the researcher the detection and translation of what is in transit between the everyday life world and the painful world.

In this case, the communication and interaction problem is presented between the ill-body and non-ill-body.

Strongly medicalization and stigmatization from society demarcates symbolic and physical limits, because people perceive the mentally ill patient as an unexpected person. It causes fear and risk idea that relegates the diagnosed person into a home-space confinement.

Most of the relationships are generated from the “toxic” idea of diseased individual, and consistently, the individual is perceived by the society as a “contaminant person”, causing the pain behavior.

Society ignores the suffering and pain affecting the person, as well as their relatives and people who share their daily world.

For this reason, it is necessary a “dense description” to understand the experience, taking into account the idea of “*leib*” body as a basis, which requires an experiential participation, and a shared narrative understanding it as an “action”.

The concept of emotion as a mediatrix of the three bodies -individual, social and politic body- can help us to translate these embodied pain and suffering as a “somatic commotion” in the body.

Furthermore, I propose a fourth body as analytic concept that involves the three bodies and puts them in dialectic interaction, “*cuerpo actuante*” (acting-body) that includes a subjective and a collective shape insomuch as it perceives and acts from both entities.

Thereby, from my personal experience, having coexisted at home and taken care of a diagnosed person during fifteen years, and from my experience as volunteer with different mental disabilities, I resort to the “feeling thinking” and the “intentional arc”, to analyze the daily life, the relatives’ relationships and the home-space as a care device.

The aim is to establish a dialog between what happens at fieldwork between the informants lived experience, and the researcher lived experience as a *conocimiento sedimentado en el cuerpo* (deposited knowledge in the body). In this sense, I intend to find those pre-symbolic phenomena that we can infer in scientific knowledge, that recover the own researcher body's memory as an instrument and technique.

THE MATERIAL INFRASTRUCTURE OF ETHNOGRAPHY

Convenor: Attila Bruni, University of Trento, Attila.bruni@unitn.it

Saturday 7th 9.00-12.00 – 1 P

Enacting ethnographic infrastructures “in the wild”. Following patients, medications and health documents outside the clinic

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For almost 20 years now the label “in the wild” has fascinated researchers from different fields such as cognitive science (Hutchins 1995), science and technology studies (Callon and Rabearisoa 2003), and design (Chamberlain et. al 2012). While the concept is unclear and ambiguous at times, it has the evocative power to recall the idea of something that happens outside the controlled and familiar spaces of the laboratories. The wild, though, is relational. There is no such thing as a universal wilderness. One’s wilderness is another’s home, what is unfamiliar and puzzling for someone looks well-ordered and systematic for others. As organizational ethnographers we are used to medical institutions. We find ourselves at ease walking around hospital wards, sitting side-by-side to doctors during clinical encounters or engaging in backtalk about the use of a new technology. We are not comfortable, by contrast, when we need to engage in observation of patients alone, outside the institutional walls, as they care for themselves at home or in the workspace. And yet, we as ethnographers we need to familiarize ourselves with those spaces and practices. This shift from within institutional boundaries to the outside calls ethnographers to explore the mundane arrangements needed to perform new forms of patienthood and the situated actions of people engaging with health conditions. It calls ethnographers to the wild. We shall present three different explorations of health management outside institutional boundaries.

The first case, the clinic in the wild, introduces the issue of health education and we will present the case of conducting participant observation in a diabetes summer camp. In diabetes camps the learning of self management capabilities is deeply intertwined with both educational (e.g. group work facilitate by educators, educational games) and recreational activities (e.g. rafting, trekking, football, archery), for example: patients meet new friends, play various sports with them, construct relations of trust, exchange their experiences during educational and recreational activities and, finally, learn as cope hypoglycemia and hyperglycemia, interpreting the blood sugar values and using insulin and food to dcontrol them. Researchers cannot decide ex post where learning dynamics take place. In contrast, they have to follow organizational life in diabetes camps, observing how learning processes are embedded in other activities and deciding what is not interesting for their researchaims. Within this context, training and handling unconventional research tools such as oars, ropes and bycycles offers a way to have access to the experience of diabetes. Diabetes camps are extremely intricate, elusive and, therefore, wild scenarios. Researchers, facing a "jumble" of activity, try to separate what is important to the achievement of their objectives from what it is not. Moreover, observing diabetes camps means dealing with a research object that often seems indomitable. The educational and recreational activities are dispersed in space and time, then researchers have to devise new “tricks of the trade”, trying to domesticate their research object.

The second, medication management at home, shows the complexities of preconfiguring the moment of study and dealing with complex care networks. home becomes the space of “therapy in the wild”, where expert knowledge and practices of health care organizations melts into and cope with everyday knowledge and practices, as well as with the expertise achieved by patients and their

primary network in managing the therapy. Especially dealing with chronically ill older patients with serious diseases such as Parkinson or dementia, caregivers often become the main speaker. The unexpected shift of interviewee constitutes a particularly delicate aspect since the researcher is led to grant the ability to talk to another person while the “object” of discussion is present. Here relatives act as spokespersons while the original interviewee listens and gives some remarks and short comment of approval or disagreement. The patients becomes thus the technology of an ethnographic infrastructure, a boundary object (Star & Griesemer 1989) of the conversation on behalf of whom spokespersons, including the researcher, talk. The mechanism of delegation, that in health care involves the decentralization and the redistribution of responsibilities at home, shows the methodological limits of the classic concept of face-to-face interview in a neutral environment, emphasizing the role of the network and delegation as methodological issues. To use a metaphor, in dealing with the networked interview the researcher observe the progressive foregrounding of the context and the corresponding reification of the patient as a “stone interviewee”, a version of the well-known stone guest in a methodological adaptation of Molière’s Don Juan.

The third, following traces of articulation work, brings to the fore the relevance of the analysis of the stratification of material arrangements to reveal the invisible activities of personal health information management. Health information management is one of the most elusive activities healthcare systems delegate to citizens/patients. Health information is generally scattered around in different physical and institutional settings, partly paper-based partly in digital form. Information sharing across different domains (e.g. hospital to hospital, hospital-GPs) is often partial, subject to limitation or non-existent. The act of bringing one or more documents to visit is the top of the iceberg of personal health information management, the articulation work performed mostly in the households that comprises collecting, classifying, sorting out, and selecting the documents. Yet, personal health information management is an activity that lies beyond the possibility of an external observation. Moreover, as a matter of fact a single episode of document handling would be of little interest for an ethnographer, not to mention the complex issue regarding the intrusion in the private dwelling this would require. In the private house, unlike in a hospital department, health record keeping does not posses an autonomous space and time but is rather inextricably intertwined with other activities and spaces. The familiar space of the house, for those who inhabit it, becomes the wilderness at the eyes of the ethnographer. At the same time, though, the space might provide the ethnographer with the information needed for the analysis: artefacts, their collocation in the space, their relations to one another become distributed resources that enact the ethnographic investigation and provide significant points of access to stratification of activities over time.

To conclude, delegation, distribution and materialization of actions led our research to switch from an ethnography of organizations to an ethnography of organizing, in order to focus on the processual aspects of phenomena related to health care and caretaking. Therapy in the wild re-frames organizational processes and produces new forms of organizing care and consequently new form of researching health care practices. The researcher have to construct a deep relation with the heterogeneous actors that enact these complex organizing processes. On one hand, he/she should build a trust relation with human and non-human actors, playing different roles and gaining access to the field. On the other hand, researchers have to become familiar with the health technologies that take part in the daily care of the patient.

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Mediating technologies on ethnography approach

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The contribution aims to examine current discussion about methods in anthropological research on the culture of Internet. I try to map these discussion regarding ethnographic research to examine how the technology can produce particular knowledge. In particular, the focus is on the relationship between the way the objects of ethnographies are made and the kinds of knowledge are produced.

The discourse on online or virtual ethnography approach is focused on a new ways of considering the objects, the artifacts in conducting the research. This aspect implies an integration of different methods and procedures: research on ethnography has always been a project involving practices of dwelling in physical locations by mapping and understanding the practices within particular forms of embodied places. Cyberspace is a differentiated field in terms of what parts are considered open to ethnographical approaches. Online textualised activities are shaped by socio-technical spaces characterised by information spaces, communication spaces and interaction spaces.

Intersubjectivity is also an important theme in effects some ethnographers can produce a new kind of knowledge. The aim is to problematise the objects by showing some of the construction of ethnographic representation by enabling the reader to navigate through the materials. Textualization is at the heart of ethnographic enterprise both in the field and University setting: fieldwork is synonymous with the activities of inscribing diverse contexts of oral discourse through field notes and recording.

Recent developments in the use of novel information and communication technologies have meant that new practices like data-sharing, mail list, web pages and open publication have created new sites where the science can be studied. New sites and objects of study are being proposed (networks, multi-sited ethnography) for the study of traditional anthropological issues like migration, community and identity. There have been a number of discussion about the appropriateness of ethnography for the study of Internet as a field of study for anthropologists. Many reflections have focused on whether the units of analysis of anthropology can be found on the Internet.

A new sensitivity to the way in which place is performed involving place as being a field of relations. From this point of view, the places as they are defined physically, the focus would shift to the connections between multiple forms of beings where the actors are fully engaged. The ethnographers would be encouraged to search meaningful connections. Hine (2005) notes that ethnographers may see as an advantage the fact that “they no longer have to get away their fieldwork from their office”. Other ethnographers stressed the high cost of multi-sited ethnography and the chronic uncertainty that accompanies having field and changing actors.

Technology has also been claimed to form a barrier to ethnographic approaches as to lead to a crisis. For example, the notion of country has been claimed to be actually illusory when enacted on the Internet as real phenomena.

New ethical dilemmas have also been signalled framed in term of the loss of distance and anonymity caused by accessibility of the Internet and efficiency of search engines.

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On ambiguous relations between methodologies of social sciences, Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis and research practice in Poland

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Reflecting on qualitative methodology is based mostly on “theories” or normative accounts of research and analysis and on own experience of researchers who contribute to the discussion on the qualitative methodology of social sciences (see Silverman 2004, 2007, Hammerslay& Atkinson

1994). There is a lack of empirical, meta-methodological studies concentrated on the practice of researchers, on the relations between methodologies and practices and on the use of research tools (despite some exceptions). We have conducted a research project focused on the practice of Polish researchers and their opinions on qualitative analysis, especially – on computer assisted analysis, to fill this gap. We have used quantitative (online survey) and qualitative research methods (discourse analysis of expert CAQDAS seminars and secondary analysis of students' class CAQDA projects). Our results include the diagnosis of a discrepancy between 'legitimized' methodologies declared by researchers and their practice. Moreover, there is a dual gap within Polish sociology in the area of CAQDAS. First one is between image of CAQDAS in the methodological literature and in the opinions of the researchers themselves. Second gap is between the image among the users and actual practices of the software use (Haratyk, Kordasiewicz 2013).

These discrepancies make only more difficult to assess the influence of software as well as declared methodologies on practices of researchers. Moreover, Polish methodological texts on CAQDA present very often unambiguous image of this software which can only improve the quality of research according to these texts. The opinions of our interviewees were much more ambivalent. Not only positive effects of CAQDAS usage were mentioned by them. What is especially important, the arguments in favor of CAQDAS enumerated by our interviewees concerned mainly technical issues, whereas methodological consequences were mentioned mainly among disadvantages of them.

In our presentation we want to address the topic of how methodologies and normative views, included in handbooks and journal papers, transpire through and interact with CAQDA practice, and how using CAQDAS stimulates analytical reflexivity. We will draw from our research as well as from our experience as academic teachers and trainers (since 2007), as well as participants of an informal Polish expert group on CAQDAS (since 2012).

“As a good hammer for the carpenter”. A reflexive insight on objects and practices of audio recording in qualitative research

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"As a good hammer is essential to fine carpentry, a good tape recorder is indispensable to fine fieldwork" (Patton 2002, p. 380)

This presentation focuses in a reflexive way on the role of technologies, artefacts and objects involved in audio recordings within the work of qualitative research, with particular reference to the recording of in-depth interviews. Although interviews' recording is usually presented as an activity mainly associated with merely technical implications, instead it is a fundamental phase in the process of data construction. This phase in research is rarely considered as a practice charged with direct implications on the actual results of the research and it is usually not included as part of the major skills developed by young researchers.

Especially in the case of large scale qualitative researches, which require the involvement of a large number of researchers and a huge quantity of interviews, the phase from the execution of audio recording to the availability of transcriptions involves a specific work of coordination and organization of the research group, with significant impacts on the analysis and the construction of data.

The implications of audio recording in qualitative research do not end in “pressing a button”, but involve various aspects that characterize a highly specific practice, which can be reflexively analysed through the perspective of a "theory of practice" (Shove and Pantzar 2002; Warde 2005; Magaudo 2011): a configuration of several elements including material objects, skills and embedded representations and discourses. From another point of view, a reflection on the role of technologies and objects in the audio recording of interviews can be fruitfully developed with a «beckerian» approach (Becker 1982) adapted to the world of scientific research. This means to focus on several aspects and objects, apparently marginal in the research work, but nevertheless

with significant implications for understanding the complexity of the work of social research.

The presentation is based on a reflexive analysis of the practices involving audio recording in social research and it is based on at least two different types of materials. The first set of materials comes from guidebooks and manuals of qualitative research that illustrate problems involved in audio recording and that contribute in the definition of a set of recurring representations regarding the use of audio technology during the research work. A second set of materials comes from the actual experience in qualitative research of the author who over the past 15 years has participated in about a dozen studies based on the recording of interviews: from smaller projects to big researches that included over an hundred interviews, which have been carried out by many different researchers with the support of external structures for the transcription.

The first issue addressed in the presentation is related with the development and evolution of recording technologies and in particular of audio recorders. Over the past 15 years, these tools have radically transformed, from the mini-cassette recorder to the digital devices that can be connected to a computer. The relationship between the researcher and his recorder device can be considered on the basis of the skills develops in its use and also in terms of researcher's confidence in the efficiency of the instrument. A second issue addressed concerns the role of quality in audio recordings. On the one hand, audio quality depends on the technical characteristics of the instruments used, which in recent years have improved thanks to digital recording; on the other hand, this quality often depends only marginally by the type of recorder, but is linked to more or less conscious choices made by the researcher in the interview setting, often on the basis of his own "tacit knowledge" (Polanyi 1966) about the device's performances. We see that the quality of the recording is not just a purely technical issue, but it also involves – adopting a perspective Actor Network Theory – a network of relationships between human and non-human actors (Latour 1987). Moreover, the quality of audio recordings also presents direct consequences on the quality of research materials produced after the stage of transcription. In this regard, a well-known manual on qualitative research methods by Patton (2002 p. 382) outlined that, from the research experience developed at the University of Minnesota, about 20% of some hundreds of hours of interviews recorded were unusable in the stage of the analysis due to a poor recording quality.

This consideration opens a third issue addressed in the presentation and regarding the role of records transcriptions. The quality of transcriptions is not only closely related to the recording process, but it is also deeply integrated into the organization of the work within the research groups, especially in the case of large-scale investigations. At this regard, the presentation will consider some of the implications of the socio-technical infrastructure of transcription employed in large-scale qualitative researches, presenting some example from a research based on about 170 qualitative interviews and that included the work of about dozen researchers. This will allow highlighting how audio recording and their transcriptions have relevant implications in the work of analysis of data collected.

The ideas developed in the presentation will allow reflecting on issues regarding both theoretical implications –the relationship between social actors and technologies – and methodological questions – our knowledge on the techniques of qualitative research. On the first level, we see that the work of audio recording is directly linked to specific skills and competences, often implicit, developed by the researcher in relation with artefacts and technologies; on the second level, audio recording emerges as an essential stage in the work of qualitative research, with direct impacts on the process of construction of data.

The ethnographic mediation of the object: narrative studies on the role of things in the reconstructions of a life history

Alessandra Micalizzi, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, alessandra.micalizzi@gmail.com

The world-of-life is made up of things: human artifacts with peculiar socio-cultural meanings. Being part of a specific culture of a practices of appropriation that correspond to a process of

attribution of personal and cultural meanings. In fact, it depends on cultural and directive mechanisms or it is the result of personal experiences interwoven with objects. In this way, the social biography of things, as it is defined by some authors, is confused with the life of its owner. This means that the object has a strong narrative potential and individual and social identity, redefined dynamically by the gaze of the observer.

This paper aims at presenting some considerations about how the objects -of -others, those that belong to the context explored in immersive way by the researcher, can be considered important in the fieldwork like signs of "presence". And this is so true that they can be tools for understanding the social world or medium to enter in contact with a peculiar experience.

More specifically, It will be left on the background two empirical researches, focused on very sensitive issues, in which the objects-of-other have been an integrated part of the methodological design.

The first research was focused on the experience of loss of a beloved person and it was based on narrative in-depth interviews, carried out ethnographically, directly in the houses of the interviewees. It was foreseen a moment of exploration of the rooms, in order to enter in an immersive way in the affective life of the survivors and their beloved. In that moment, the so called affective objects emerged as spontaneous and tangible stimulus in order to go in depth in the story telling.

Without the selection of the objects and the visit in the domestic environment, it would have been impossible to discover some routines of the family or personal anecdotes of the respondents.

The second study dealt with the process of the reconstruction of the collective memory after the earthquake in Abruzzi by the inhabitants of the region. In this case, the relation with the object was an aspect voluntarily chosen to rebuild the everyday life (before the trauma) and the extraordinary aspects of that experience, starting from a narrative mediated interviews. More specifically, the objects - of - others have had a reconstructive function of the world-of-life, lost by the earthquake. This methodological choice allowed the researcher to virtually immerse himself in a world that no longer existed. At the same time, the proposal of a narrative journey through the objects also consents to understand the practice of re-appropriation of reality, so suddenly and materially different from before, thanks to the exploration of new semantic paths of meaning of the things.

Starting from these two research experiences, we would like to propose a methodological considerations about those artifacts that are not tools of work for a researcher, in a strict sense, but that become the object and the "medium" of the relation with the social environment in which he wants to materially dip.

Snapshots, traits and voices: the undisciplined allies of ethnographic work

Assunta Viteritti, University of Rome Sapienza, assunta.viteritti@uniroma1.it

Through a second-level methodological reflection on an ethnographical study carried out in a scientific laboratory over a four-year period, this paper intends to show how the tools an ethnographer uses in the field sometimes reveal uneasiness and struggle to set up a solid and reassuring infrastructure (the famous toolbox) for those who carry out social research.

The working tools in ethnographical research are not merely useful objects, inert or neutral things, simple appendices of the ethnographer's work, but rather mediators, interpreters, allies which seek harmony among themselves and also with the ethnographer and all the human and material elements in the field. The ethnographer, who studies the materiality of the world in order to portray it, needs to have access to a range of competent practices incorporated within the tools of his trade, which cannot, however, constitute a proxy to the tools themselves. Ethnographical work is made up of the constant bustling of the ethnographer with his tools (how to write, what to write, what to portray, what to photograph, what to film, what to ask, what to record, what to take note of, etc.).

Ethnographical work therefore needs various types of resources: time, patience, passion, listening, accurate vision, attention to detail, a sense of space, attention to the actors' discourse, rituals and

movements and to their words and actions. In the ethnographical field, attention and rigor in making note of words, analyzing situations rapidly, choosing viewpoints for observing scenes and choosing scenes themselves, reflecting on the meaning the actors attribute to their work and also the detachment capable of producing solid and impartial descriptions, are necessary. That of the ethnographer is a presence which disturbs or hastens and sometimes escapes attention, an awkward or merely unusual witness who needs to be accepted or at least politely ignored. His is therefore a non-neutral presence, as non-neutral are also his (or her) analytical viewpoints and working tools, as well as the implicit and explicit theories experimented in the course of the observation.

The objects an ethnographer uses are therefore actors in the field themselves, situated within that area which at the same time links and separates the observer from his field of study. On the other hand, these objects change and multiply through time, and the notebook is accompanied more and more by diverse other tools such as the recorder, the camera, the video camera, the use of virtual analysis, the computer and last but not least, the observer's body: all these elements seek convergence and synergy with the field.

Starting from this premise, this contribution intends to deal with three research issues:

- 1) to show how the ethnographer's working tools are not closed, neutral objects ready for use, for writing, photographing, filming or recording;
- 2) to analyze the relationships between the tools, together with the difficulty in aligning them with the researcher and the field of study;
- 3) to highlight the relationship between the actors in the field and the ethnographer's objects, in the hypothesis that the ethnographic infrastructure does not seek convergence only with the observer and his/her tools, but also with the actors in the field with which the ethnographer's tools find themselves linked.

Through a reconstruction and analysis of three episodes taken from the field, I propose a reflection on how the practice of ethnographical work requires the creative setup of extensive material infrastructures, which are not always willing to align themselves with and respond to the observer's needs.

TIME, SPACE AND LABOUR

Convenor: Devi Sacchetto, University of Padova, devi.sacchetto@unipd.it
Thursday 5th, 16.00-19.00 – 1 SA

Neoliberal Governmentality and Health and Safety at Work
Tindaro Bellinvia, Università di Messina, tbellinvia@unime.it

In this paper, which is based on qualitative research carried out primarily by way of in-depth interviews with managers and public officials involved in health and safety inspection in the workplace in Sicily, I put forward the argument that even the sector regarding the protection of workers' health and safety has been structured, or rather restructured over the years, along the lines of neoliberal governmentality, so as to respond to the need to obtain merely numerical results, while being no closer to achieving any real or effective supervision of the working world.

This research, which began in September 2013, is an integral part of PRIN «The professions of governance in the local government of securities and insecurities» being carried out by the Department of Education Science at the University of Genoa, and in particular by the Sub-unit from the University of Messina, on the subject «The construction of environmental safety in Sicily. Professional cultures, decision-making processes, priorities and constraints within a safety framework».

Between the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, Italy became one of the many laboratories for neoliberal governmentality scattered around the world. The latter – more especially through the language of economics and the rhetoric of reform – has permeated every aspect of public and private life. The core of the neoliberal ideology is notoriously the creation of a minimal State, where social rights are weakened, but where some progress has been made regarding personal safety, at least in rhetorical and symbolic terms. In Italy, thanks to the 'external administration' of democracy – which is constrained by the rigid standards set by the European and International economic institutions – any guarantees that might exist for the workers have been severely reduced in favour of greater international competitiveness. In apparent contradiction to this, however, since 1994, increasingly stringent health and safety at work laws have been issued, on the recommendations of the same European institutions. But only apparently, as evidenced by the fact that, although the laws have become more stringent, since legislative decree 626, dated 1994 to Consolidated Act no. 81, dated 2008, to legislative decrees 81 and 106 from 2009, there has been little or no commitment to the inspection process and therefore very little in the way of prevention. Since all the rhetoric about safety and deaths in the workplace, expressed not only by the highest State representatives, but also Regional Presidents and others, there have been continual cuts to financial resources as well as to the numbers of actual inspectors, who have been reduced to a ridiculously small number. In line with neoliberal governmentality, resources and personnel have been able to increase over the years only thanks to specific projects and for short periods of time. In the case of Prevention and Health services, for example, new young technicians in Sicily have undergone a three year training and instruction course, but they are blocked by delays and the periodic discussion of their situation. There are a number of different private and public entities involved in training projects for workers, with either private or public funding, that help them to acquire a greater awareness of safety procedures. This cultural awareness gives them the tools and teaches them the necessary procedures for preventing accidents in the workplace, but in all likelihood it will not readily catch on, especially amongst workers who have less and less bargaining power and who are evidently ready to take all sorts of risks to keep their jobs.

From what some of the inspectors have said, there are evident contradictions in this the situation; despite the existence of cutting-edge legislation designed to create the perfect safety code for the workers, there is such an unstable and precarious economic and job situation that it seems utopian

to imagine that the laws would be complied with. In the building and public works sectors it may be possible to find that in one or two cases more care is taken to correctly assemble scaffolding, but it is also possible to find a variety of situations, including undeclared or semi-undeclared work, or tenders which include large discounts and highly intricate systems of sub-contracting, which make the worker's lives extremely complicated and any potential inspections ineffective.

In this type of research, an ethnographic point of view helps to highlight the human factor intrinsic to the application of the law. In fact, what emerges in this bureaucratic sector, is the distance between the rhetoric used by New Public Management, concerning efficiency and numerical results, and which is already firmly in use in management discourse, and the awareness of public officials, who are trying, against all the odds, to resolve the contradictions involved in their work. On the one hand they seem happy to make their contribution to "saving lives" by carrying out inspections and making recommendations, but on the other, they fear the social disapproval that comes from their need to take drastic action against companies, which may well result in job losses.

Symmetrical geographies and asymmetric relationship: the material conditions of foreign workers in the province of Ragusa (Sicily)

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This study aims at investigating the terms of the relationship between time-space-work given the ethnographic data collected during a research conducted among the agricultural workers of the province of Ragusa between January and August of 2013. The geographical area, better known as the "Transformed Littoral Strip", owes its economic growth to the application of advanced technologies and to the development of protected agriculture.

The technique of greenhouse cultivation, in fact, has generated a gradual process of de-seasonalization, projecting the Sicilian province of Ragusa among the biggest agricultural production centers in Southern Italy. Together with the enrichment processes and the derived economic developments, this territory is now characterized by the massive presence of foreign workers who migrated mainly from North African and East-European countries and are employed in the production and processing of horticultural products. Although there are opportunities of full time employment for these foreign workers, due to a continuous horticultural production cycle, unfortunately their material conditions do not seem to differ much from those of most other workers who are employed only during the seasonal harvest in Southern Italy. The "permanence" of foreign workers in the Sicilian province stride, in fact, with the highly fragmented and segmented nature of the local economy which, ultimately, is characterized by a generalized and institutionalized presence of informal practices and relationships. The informal nature of economic transactions and relationships that revolve around the processes of local production heavily influences the lives of native workers but, of course, even more so the lives of foreign workers. For the latter, in fact, the informality results in a condition of total economic subordination that, in the first instance, is realized by processes of physical segregation and social vulnerability. The contribution of this paper goes in the direction of an analysis of the disciplinary systems which, in an attempt to reify the dominant economic ideology, employ the strategy of spatial confinement. Proceeding in this analytical direction, it is however necessary to examine the way in which the creation of boundaries governed by the mechanisms of biopolitical disciplining and by the local logics of governmentality proves, instead, a fertile soil for eccentric practices of resistance and decisive processes of subjectification.

The six month period of participant observation took place mainly in the the province of Ragusa's countryside and some in the areas reserved for the socialization of foreign workers. The data which emerged from this reconstruction, together with informal conversations and in-depth interviews given by the area's agricultural laborers (about 100 individuals) have allowed me to map the areas reserved to the foreign workers' public and private lives. The findings from this ethnographic research show how the physical dislocations of foreign workers follow types of subjection, typical

of the neo-liberal economic system. However, what escapes these models are the significant processes of re-configuration of space and time put in place by the same foreign workers who, although they appear to satisfy the requirements of self-confinement promoted by the dominant economic ideology, do not give up the possibility of producing radical transformations within those areas. Moving away from the territory of the Transformed Littoral Strip and examining the data that emerged from the ethnographic researches conducted in the rural areas of Southern Italy, it registers a constant asymmetry between the city and the countryside, respectively taken as a place for socializing and as a workplace. On the basis of this structural divergence and thanks to the mapping traced during the period of participant observation, the research examines the possibility of providing an analytical perspective that, keeping in mind the traditional interpretative models, does not miss to give space to the changes that have occurred with the inclusion of foreign workers in the local economy.

The case of the province of Ragusa, and in particular the city of Victoria, shows the progressive space occupation on the basis of the foreign workers' nationalities.

In this sense, it is possible to make a distinction between the Tunisian workers who arrived first in the territory and have gradually taken possession of one of the squares of the city of Victoria, and the Romanian workers who live in rural areas close to the greenhouses workplace. In addition to revealing a clear demarcation between the communities of foreigners in the territory and a better inclusion of the Tunisian workers, this distinction shows how the traditional asymmetry between city and countryside is strategically changed to address the need to develop new and more effective levels of segregation of foreign workers. In this way, a city square and an entire neighborhood have taken on the traits of a real fence: here, the Tunisians have shaped public space into a place of trade and commerce and they have transformed leisure-time in work-time. With different modes and features, the Romanians that live in the countryside surrounding the city of Victoria, forced to live in a condition of isolation, exacerbated by the objective physical distance and by the relational void around, put in place effective strategies of resistance to cope with the spatial confinement, the inability to distinguish between leisure and work time, and the strong connection between public and private spheres, reproducing mode of rural existence and recurring, where appropriate, to a wide range of family relationships and alliances necessary for their more intimate survival.

The aim to investigate the terms of the time-space-work relationship goes together here with the attempt to demonstrate the operation beyond the boundaries of the traditional workplaces, and to bring to light the outcome of material exclusion and inclusion practices. The city square and the countryside, therefore, represent the most advanced of the traditional models of exploitation and domination exercised in the workplace, showing how the inability to distinguish between the times and spaces of work and the times and spaces of leisure, go along with, ultimately, forms of regulation and control of the workers even more radical and pervasive. However, it is precisely from the orientation of the practices of biopolitical control and confinement described above, that it is possible to investigate the mode of reconfiguration of the space-time dimension put in place by the foreign workers in the province of Ragusa.

Living and working conditions of Ghanaian migrant workers in Italy's agricultural sector.
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Italian countrysides have been populated for 30 years by foreign national migrant workers from north and sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. These workers have cooperated with and in some cases have replaced Italian local labour.

This research looks into living and working conditions of Ghanaian migrant workers in Italy's agricultural sector.

The empirical part of this study was conducted in Travagliato (a small town in Northern Italy) and in Afragola (a country in the South) between December 2010 and January 2011.

31 semi-structured interviews were conducted with Ghanaian, Ivorian migrant workers and a

Nigerian woman. I also interviewed several Italian privileged speakers.

On the basis of the results of this research, it can be concluded that some Italian countryside realities are characterized by the existence of severe labour exploitation of foreign national migrant workers, arbitrary wage, reductions, delays or non-payment of wages and long working hours.

Despite seasonal migrant workers in Southern Italy are subject to extremely dire living conditions, they put in act their opposition to the above mentioned system of exploitation in which they are involved, by organizing protest actions and strikes.

“Ocupar, Resistir, Laburar.” Everyday work in an Argentinian worker-recovered enterprise
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The Empresas recuperadas por sus trabajadores (ERT) are enterprises that have been redeemed and managed directly by the workers after going bankrupt. This phenomenon has developed in Argentina during the economic crisis of 2001: as of today, there are about 300 recovered enterprises employing about 14,000 workers. This paper is part of a broader PhD research aiming at analyzing the everyday culture of such organizations. Particular attention will be placed in understanding whether this kind of organization presents elements of discontinuity and difference in comparison with enterprises operating in a market economy regime. This paper focuses on the working practice in two important production units of Impa, a historical Argentinian recovered enterprise. The fieldwork was carried out mainly through participating observation, during a 49-day stay at the Impa metalworking factory in Buenos Aires. In addition to participating observation, 29 ethnographic interviews with workers were carried out.

After describing the essential features of the organizational structure and production at Impa, five specific dimensions of everyday work (el laburar diario) at Impa will be highlighted: 1) freedom in the management of the workers' timetable and tasks; 2) technology and workforce; 3) labor control and hierarchy; 4) production; 5) reproductive field and connections with the factory. Finally, the relation between production, hierarchy, intensity of work and wage construction at Impa will be scrutinized. In particular, this paper aims at emphasizing some a number of creative solutions and attempts to combine the different dimensions characterizing the everyday life of workers inside this recovered enterprise.

The global enterprise from a peripheral perspective. Ethnography of the labour crisis in Melfi during the era of FIAT-Chrysler Automobiles
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This paper focuses on time and space in the current phase of the FIAT car factory in Melfi, after the set-up of FIAT-Chrysler, the new global company formed from the international merger with Chrysler.

Time and space, central and interrelated concepts in the analysis of industrial work, are creating a new configuration in the current production phase in Melfi: the local factory, in fact, has decreased its production since Autumn 2011, and currently workers are sustained by the CIG (Cassa Integrazione Guadagni-income assistance).

From an anthropological point of view, recently focused on the global/local intersection and the role of enterprise in this connection (by Kilani, Hannerz, Sélim and Papa), time is now conceived starting from a reduction of the working day activities, organised on a three day week. In a longer time perspective, the perception of the future is characterised by a strong uncertainty, due to the difficulties in predicting the new characteristics of production, market and labour organisation after restructuring and the new organisation of production.

Regarding space, we can observe the breaking-up of the traditional boundaries of the factory as space of negotiation and (eventually) conflict between workers and employers, and the more

diffused perception of an anonymous and distance management and, subsequently, the impossibility by the workers to control the long course of their employment, their own positions within the factory and the global production process (as some scholars, such as Standing, Marsh and Mollona have already underlined).

Founded on a longitudinal ethnographic research (1999/2003 and 2011/2013), the paper underlines the start-up and crisis of the post-Fordist promise, in a twenty year period of car production in Melfi, in the more general frame of internationalisation and globalisation of the historical Italian FIAT car factory.

Forme temporali della precarietà. Il caso della Fiat di Termini Imerese

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Attraverso una ricerca etnografica, iniziata alla fine del 2011, fra gli operai Fiat di Termini Imerese (Sicilia) ho tentato di analizzare la percezione temporale di questi lavoratori in un periodo di crisi totale (economica, professionale, esistenziale e comunitaria).

Lo stabilimento automobilistico siciliano, infatti, ha iniziato la sua dismissione il 23 novembre 2011. È a partire da questa data che i lavoratori locali si sono trovati a dovere rimodulare la loro condizione liminale di dipendenti senza lavoro. Condizione, questa, data dal fatto che attualmente quei lavoratori sono formalmente ancora dipendenti Fiat, ma, allo stesso tempo, sono stati esclusi dai processi produttivi dell'azienda.

Lo stabilimento Fiat di Termini Imerese presenta alcune peculiarità nelle modalità di installazione. Esso, infatti, inaugurato nel 1970, fu uno dei primi stabilimenti ad essere aperto al di fuori del Piemonte e seguì, come molti altri stabilimenti Fiat del Sud Italia, una metodologia ubicazionale nettamente diversa rispetto alle fabbriche storiche del Nord. Se qui, infatti, la Fiat aveva installato mega-stabilimenti che, oltre a creare una forte e stabile comunità di lavoratori, avevano trasformato l'assetto urbanistico di Torino e del suo circondario con la fondazione di nuovi quartieri; nel Sud Italia l'azienda automobilistica installò stabilimenti di dimensioni più ridotte in aree lontane dai grandi centri urbani. Ciò comportò la creazione di una classe di lavoratori che in qualche modo non venne sradicata dai propri luoghi di origine, ma contemporaneamente fece in modo che gli operai non riuscissero a creare una comunità forte e compatta.

Dai dati raccolti durante la ricerca sul campo emerge che a Termini Imerese sembrano avere fatto il loro ingresso nello stabilimento tre generazioni di lavoratori. Le differenze fra queste tre generazioni dipendono sostanzialmente: dalle modalità legislative utilizzate per l'assunzione nel corso degli anni; dalle fasi storiche che l'azienda si è trovata ad attraversare; infine, dalle modalità di produzione adottate nel corso degli anni.

Le caratteristiche peculiari che differenziano le tre generazioni sono: il grado di scolarizzazione dei vari lavoratori; le esperienze di lavoro pregresse all'assunzione in fabbrica; le modalità di assunzione; il tasso di sindacalizzazione.

La prima generazione è stata assunta fra gli anni Settanta e l'inizio degli anni Ottanta. Coloro che fanno parte di questa generazione presentano un grado di scolarizzazione basso (licenza elementare e solo in qualche caso licenza media), sono provenienti da un contesto economico-sociale e professionale di tipo agro-pastorale, marinaro o artigianale. In generale, per loro l'assunzione in Fiat rappresenta un miglioramento delle condizioni economico-sociali, ma, allo stesso tempo, essi hanno continuato a svolgere il loro vecchio mestiere (contadino, pastore, artigiano ecc.) anche dopo l'assunzione in Fiat. Questi operai sono stati scelti fra i disoccupati delle liste di collocamento dell'ufficio di Termini Imerese. Il livello di sindacalizzazione fra gli operai di questa prima generazione è molto elevato.

La seconda generazione è quella che ha fatto il suo ingresso alla fine degli anni Ottanta. Le persone di questa generazione presentano, mediamente, un tasso di scolarizzazione più alto (licenza media) e provengono da un contesto economico-sociale generalmente più agiato rispetto al primo. Quasi tutti i rappresentanti di questa generazione presentano delle esperienze lavorative pregresse all'assunzione in Fiat anche se tali esperienze si configurano, da un punto di vista identitario, poco

significative. La seconda generazione di operai, inoltre, è stata assunta in fabbrica facendo ricorso a contratti di formazione e lavoro, finanziati dalla Regione Siciliana. Anche fra gli operai di questa seconda generazione si registra un alto tasso di sindacalizzazione.

La terza generazione, infine, è quella assunta nei primi anni del Duemila. I rappresentanti di questa generazione presentano un grado di scolarizzazione più alto (licenza media e, nella maggior parte dei casi, diploma). Le esperienze lavorative pregresse all'assunzione in fabbrica sono assenti o comunque limitate nella durata, nella professionalizzazione del soggetto e nella composizione identitaria. Le persone di questa terza generazione sono state assunte facendo ricorso a periodi, più o meno lunghi di precariato e attingendo esclusivamente alle risorse delle agenzie interinali. In generale, fra questi operai si registra un tasso di sindacalizzazione basso o assente.

Le trasformazioni della popolazione di fabbrica, che la diversificazione delle tre generazioni di lavoratori mette in evidenza, rispecchiano le modifiche che nel corso degli anni si sono registrate al livello legislativo, sociale e produttivo. Tali trasformazioni hanno inciso sulla vita dei lavoratori principalmente attraverso l'imposizione di tempi e ritmi, che si sono adattati nel corso degli anni ai vari cambiamenti della filosofia produttiva dell'azienda.

A Termini Imerese le filosofie produttive che hanno influenzato i tempi e i ritmi dei lavoratori, sia all'interno sia all'esterno dello stabilimento, sono fondamentalmente due: il taylorismo-fordismo e la produzione flessibile. Con il lento declino della produzione del sito automobilistico e la chiusura dello stabilimento, tuttavia, fra i lavoratori si è fatta strada una nuova percezione temporale: la percezione precaria.

Lo stabilimento di Termini Imerese sul finire della produzione taylorista-fordista, di cui lo stabilimento era una classica rappresentazione. Il lavoro, infatti, era organizzato su due turni lavorativi della durata di 480 minuti. A scandire la vita dei lavoratori vi era il TMC (il tempo metrico ciclo): una rigida misurazione dei tempi di lavorazione che scomponendo i gesti dei lavoratori volti alla produzione e assegnava un preciso valore temporale. Sebbene, i lavoratori della prima generazione hanno dovuto abituarsi a sottostare alla tempistica della fabbrica taylorista, essi, con il passare del tempo, hanno cominciato a fare ruotare la loro vita, i loro impegni e i loro secondi lavori attorno al lavoro in fabbrica. Questo, nella prima fase di produzione dello stabilimento, proprio per la sua rigidità e per la sua continuità ha rappresentato un tratto peculiare su cui è stato possibile programmare la vita futura e fondare una propria identità individuale e sociale.

Il sistema taylorista-fordista, tuttavia, già a partire dalla seconda metà degli anni Settanta cominciò ad essere rimpiazzato da nuove modalità di produzione, denominate flessibili. A Termini Imerese la flessibilità ha fatto la sua comparsa soltanto alla metà degli anni Novanta: prima con l'introduzione del TMC-2 e poi, dopo la crisi aziendale del 2002 che rischiò di fare chiudere lo stabilimento, con il ricorso sempre più frequente alla cassa integrazione, sia ordinaria che straordinaria. Nel caso del TMC-2, si tratta di una ristrutturazione dei tempi di produzione che va verso una più stringente tempistica di lavorazione. Il ricorso alla cassa integrazione, invece, ha avuto il triplice effetto di: continuare ad ottenere buoni standard di produzione con un minore costo per la manodopera, fare allontanare gradualmente i lavoratori da un senso di appartenenza e di necessità del lavoro di fabbrica; dare la percezione ai dipendenti che lo stabilimento siciliano era solo una piccola parte inserito all'interno di uno scacchiere economico di livello internazionale. Gli anni di produzione flessibile, secondo quanto è possibile osservare a Termini Imerese, si configurano come un lento declino verso l'attuale fase di precarizzazione sociale ed esistenziale dei lavoratori. Tutti i rappresentanti delle tre generazioni non riescono, in questa fase, a rimodulare le loro vite e a dare un senso a ciò che attualmente stanno attraversando. Tratto peculiare di questa nuova condizione precaria è l'impossibilità di uscire da una dimensione temporale che si configura come un eterno e indefinito presente che non permette la progettazione di una vita futura. La chiusura della fabbrica, con la comparsa di un tempo punteiforme, un tempo cioè che acquista un senso soltanto in determinati momenti (un impegno con qualche familiare, un lavoretto eseguito durante un arco temporale ben delimitato ecc.), acquista i contorni di una crisi della presenza individuale e sociale i cui strumenti di risoluzione, fragili e ancora non pienamente codificati, sono lasciati nelle mani dei soggetti.

URBAN CONFLICTS

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URBAN CONFLICTS I

Thursday 5th 16.00-19.00 – 7 SA

Born Under a bad Sign – Structural violence, marginalization and processes of “Subjectivation” through the life story of a bolivian marero.

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Born under a bad sign
I been down since I begin to crawl
If it wasn't for bad luck,
I wouldn't have no luck at all

Albert King

In this essay, we are aiming to outline our point of view regarding the role of Urban Spaces in creating mechanisms of “structural violence” (Farmer). Our goal is to “theorize (both) the city” and urban spaces in order to better understand the extent of marginalization. In this regard, the city assumes the characteristics of what Foucault defines as 'dispositif'; a combination of heterogeneous forces with a “concrete function”.

I met Sergio for the first time in December 2013, in the maximum security prison of La Abra, during my field work. It is through the recounting of his story, and the description of his upbringing, that we want to determine the influencing forces of social, cultural and political marginalization throughout his life. Sergio's development has taken place in multi – sited urban contexts, not confined to the Bolivian border. After his first arrest in the United States, Sergio was deported to Bolivia, where he was arrested for a second time. During this period of detention in 2007 Sergio became the co-author of a docu-fiction filmed in San Antonio prison and produced by Alvaro T. Olmos. It is through Sergio's self-representation that we can understand the mechanisms of “structural violence”. His belonging to Mara Salvatrucha has made “*el Lucifer*” (his *mareros* name) into a media-driven concept, giving him fame and notoriety in Cochabamba as well as inside the San Antonio jail. Sergio defines himself as a “*guerrero de la calle*”, a “street warrior”. He reacts to his marginalization, and conquers the spaces he is confronted with, both outside and inside jail. A few months after Sergio regained his freedom he was processed again (filming the sentencing as it was handed down), and convicted for the homicide of two people. Sergio has the unfortunate semblance of being born “under a bad sign”. The dramatic epilogue of his story demonstrates the permeating effect of deep cultural and social stigmatization, in whose expression by the media are revealed the subtle mechanisms of what Burdieu defines as “symbolic violence”.

The urban limbo: urban conflicts, violence and gangs in Guatemala City

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Through my paper I want to show the peculiar urban structure of Guatemala City, a fractionated place that, as many others, includes some social groups and excludes others. That structure is not something new. Philosophers such as Plato or S. Augustine described the city by using antithetic figures: the city of the rich and the city of the poor in the works of the former; the heavenly city and

the earthly city in the works of the latter. These are only two of the dichotomies proposed to represent the contrastive relations that always exist between different social groups living in a specific urban territory. However, these images do not state anything about the reciprocal determination of the two poles and, moreover, nowadays they assume distinctive aspects in many cities of the world. Thus, these images need a detailed and updating analysis.

Alien-worlds, with fortified, alarmed and controlled colonies are surrounded by poor slums and inaccessible marginal areas. This has led to many writing about such cities being characterised by a “splintering urbanism”, to use but one such expression. My research explored how it might be possible to think of the segregated city differently. In particular, I delineated what I defined as a “neoliberal social ecology” in Guatemala City – drawing of course on the first Chicago School of Sociology’s ideas – in order to map how the “culture of terror”, or “violent sociability” precipitated by segregation – embodied in a rhetoric of fear and waves of moral panic, the enormous expansion of the market of insecurity (i.e. the increase in demand for arms, private guards, surveillance devices, armoured cars), and the spread of stigmatization processes through the local media – actually constituted a vector of connection rather than disconnection.

I explored three key intersections of this neoliberal social ecology, three urban spaces that are taken as common referents by the inhabitants of Guatemala City, through which we can understand how the city has a common sense of place despite being segregated. These were the slum, the prison, and the gated community. Although the organization of these spaces is unquestionably firmly related to a “politics of separation”, they are also traversed – albeit in different ways – by actors who have acquired a special role within this urban social ecology. These are the *maras* and *pandillas*, the juvenile gangs of Central America. *Maras* and *pandillas* are relatively stable groups that are characterized by the use of the urban public space. *Maras* are therefore a typically urban phenomenon. The *maras* arise in marginal areas of Guatemala City (although in some cases they also have international relationships beyond the borders of the country), they are the main targets of city-wide security politics and of frequently inefficient programmes of violence prevention, they also constitute one of the principal sources for the security anxieties suffered by the urban elite. Their internment in prisons further reinforces their status as a transversal urban phenomenon. The *maras* permeate both the reality and imagination of the whole city. My research sought to show how both the different realities and imaginations of gangs across slums, prisons, and gated communities connected these seemingly disparate areas into a single urban fabric.

The *maras* justify the social ecology of the capital and they simultaneously challenge it through different strategies. The *maras* connect several social enclaves (marginal areas and prisons) thanks to their relationships and their hierarchical system of communication at both national and supranational levels. The *maras* break the defined borders, destabilizing the fortified network and its power (but without social awareness). Their violence is not revolutionary. It does not prefigure any alternative. It is employed against the marginal areas where they live, it expands its domain on vulnerable actors.

For this reason the category of “war machine” theorized by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari and recently applied by Steffen Jensen and Dennis Rodgers to the phenomenon of banditry, is useful also to interpret the Guatemalan context. It highlights the exteriority, the irreducibility of the *maras* against the State apparatus. Secondly, it underlines the peculiar use of the urban territory. If the State codifies and decodes the space, the *maras* as war machines territorialize and de-territorialize it, moving inside it. In one time, they define and disintegrate a relation with the territory.

The *maras* as war machines oppose the formation of a new State apparatus. As affirmed by Deleuze and Guattari, the exteriority of a war machine is at the same time coexisting and adversary to the interiority, in a permanent interaction. In the slum where I worked the paradoxical condition that characterize the *maras*’ use of the space recalled this co-presence. During my research the *maras* stood out as segregated groups with an ambiguous relation with their social *entorno*. At the same time the *maras* of that slum were characterized by an organization that crossed those limits, in a network of national and supranational fluxes.

Evicting migrants and its resistance

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The financial and economic meltdown that started in 2007 in United States after the so-called subprime mortgage crisis became global one year later. In Spain, one of the most affected countries of Europe by the long crisis, the preceding prosperity soon appeared to be a mirage. But the crisis has not affected everyone in the same measure. Actually, there are people who have been enriched during the period 2008-2012, on the other hand, the crisis is having a bigger impact on those who were already in the most precarious situations. In this paper I will focus on one of the multiple sides of the Spanish crisis affecting the truly disadvantaged: the evictions and the resistance to them by migrant people. For doing that, I will examine one village that is a paradigmatic case of a migrant enclave in Spain: Salt.

Salt, a well known town in Girona, Catalunya (Spain), has been depicted in the media as a ghetto and as the example of the problems that arise as a result of an excess of immigration (43% of its population are not citizens of the Spanish State). Salt became famous in the Spanish context since March, 2010, when a group of neighbors entered in the City Council claiming for more security and denouncing the passivity of the police towards a recent wave of thefts in town. The following day another group of neighbors, largely Moroccans, marched in the street against racism. Since then, different conflicts sporadically surface in the media.

Certainly, an important amount of neighbors and the local media were asking for more security and other punitive demands. At the same time, after the first crisis the City Council agreed with the Catalan government to increase the number of police officers patrolling the city, and also committed to construct a new police station in town which has been already built although the budget cuts.

However, an ongoing ethnography from a cultural-criminological perspective reveals that the problem defined in the local media (i.e. street crime) was just one among others affecting its population. And even worst, all the attention drawn by media, politicians and police officers has not derived in a detection of the problem that is actually generating more social harm in town, undoubtedly more than street crime: evictions.

Since the crisis started 415.117 evictions occurred during 2008-12, according to the General Council of Judiciary Power, the governing body of judges. The exact number of evictions in Salt is not easy to know because authorities do not disaggregate figures by towns, but is known that in Catalonia 33.000 flats have been evicted since this crisis started in 2008. However, the crisis has shown the *modus operandi* of banks and real state agencies, the main offenders in the eviction conflict. They were selling flats (never renting) using all kind of strategies and shortcuts in order to make maximum profit, even knowing that many of these procedures were illegal. Real state agencies falsified payslips and operated without permission, while banks used important immigrant people among its community in order to deceive compatriots, or grant mortgages to people who have only three months working contracts, among other examples. However, what become clear are the systematic practices of violation of the right to housing and the right to the city.

Recently, the neighbors started to organize themselves around a coalition to avoid the evictions. The Stop Evictions Coalition has an important role in the town to put together people from different origins that previously lived completely segregated. The coalition has become an important political actor while their actions acquired a proactive role, going from resisting the evictions to making effective the right to housing through occupying empty buildings from the nationalized bank after the crisis. In May 2013 more than one thousand people resisted the planned eviction of the occupied building. It became an example of resistance in this conflicted city, which is demonized too often, and put the problem on the national agenda.

Hence, in Salt we can see the reproduction of a previous problem: a strong pressure by police officers patrolling the city, on the one hand, and a strong stigmatization of the truly disadvantaged, on the other hand. At the same time, the crimes of the powerful are absolutely ignored, even these producing more social harm. This impunity and invisibilization only can be confronted by grassroots movements as the Stop Evictions Coalition.

Negros and latinos: gangs and resistance against civism in Barcelona
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Il presente contributo riprende due percorsi etnografici realizzati nei quartieri della periferia barcellonese presso aggregazioni informali che i media designano sotto il termine “bande”, e spesso etnicizzano attraverso l’aggettivazione “latine”.

La presenza reale e/o evocata delle “bande latine” è attualmente un fenomeno che continua ad avere una forte influenza nella vita dei giovani nei luoghi da noi osservati. In determinati contesti sociali caratterizzati da alti livelli di presenza di origine migrante, specialmente latinoamericana e di classe subalterna, è frequente che il conflitto giovanile venga spiegato ricorrendo al discorso criminologico sulle “bande”, concetto che in qualche modo acquisisce la qualità di significante metonimico di violenza e criminalità; l’espressione “banda latina” evoca così l’insieme possibile dell’universo del crimine. I mezzi di comunicazione contribuiscono inoltre a generare un corpo di “notizie negative” in relazione a questa categoria di soggetti, vincolando la loro presenza a fenomeni di delinquenza, criminalità e minaccia all’ordine sociale dei *nativi*.

La prospettiva da noi esplorata, viceversa, vede in tali aggregazioni l’affermarsi negli interstizi urbani di una generazione figlia dell’immigrazione che re-inventa quotidianamente forme di appropriazione, pratiche di resistenza e stili di accumulazione di capitale simbolico mobilitando un discorso sulla negritudine e/o sulla razza latina.

L’origine migrante, la negritudine, la *raza latina* – che si configurano in termini di costruzione sociale – si traducono in condizione sociale, incarnandosi nelle biografie dei soggetti inferiorizzati. Negritudine e latinità, come categorie di rappresentazione razziale, dichiarano l’appartenenza ai gradini più bassi della stratificazione sociale; la razza, pur non esistendo in qualità di significato, acquisisce importanza come significante, si trasmette attraverso la pratica del razzismo e diviene così lo strumento attraverso cui si costruiscono relazioni sociali gerarchizzate, dispositivi di sfruttamento e discriminazione.

Al tempo stesso i soggetti incontrati nel corso dell’etnografia utilizzano il significante razza, giocano con esso, e provano in modo a volte silenzioso, a volte spettacolare, a contrastare i dispositivi dello stigma e dell’inferiorizzazione simbolica. In questo senso, mettono in atto tattiche di resistenza che sfidano le strategie istituzionali di gestione dello spazio urbano e innescano processi di empowerment attraverso la costruzione di un noi collettivo e di un tempo parallelo, di una fratellanza giovanile e conflittuale.

Abbiamo frequentato per oltre due anni i luoghi di vita di questo proletariato giovanile di origine migrante nel mezzo della crisi, assistendo allo svuotamento dei bacini del lavoro subalterno, alla crescita delle economie informali e micro-criminali, alla chiusura delle opportunità educative e alla contrazione delle politiche sociali, all’affermazione di una retorica istituzionale di tolleranza zero (*la mano dura*) contro la piccola criminalità giovanile; tali processi di inferiorizzazione ci parlano soprattutto delle politiche e dei conflitti nella gestione dello spazio urbano. Barcellona, infatti, la *ciudad mentirosa*, non differentemente da altre città, dispiega un desiderio istituzionale di una nuova igiene sociale attraverso la filosofia pratica del *civismo*, cercando di ordinare i flussi e gli spazi al fine di intensificare l’estrazione di un plusvalore commerciale, fondiario e turistico; proprio in virtù del civismo, i giovani delle bande, come altre categorie di soggetti poveri e marginali, sono accusati dagli amministratori di un uso intensivo ed improprio dello spazio urbano, una nuova classificazione nata anche per disperdere e contrastare le capacità di aggregazione autonoma dei subalterni.

Le gangs, la loro *agency*, si rivelano così uno dei momenti di conflitto pratico, implicito, non teorizzato, verso tali ri-strutturazione della città ufficiale. Abbiamo seguito il procedere di questo movimento, da un lato di sconfinamento dal basso e dall’altro di riassegnazione istituzionale, attraverso due etnografie parallele e dialogiche, processi di ricerca-azione che si sono tradotti in

progetti filmici di contro-scrittura della città. Etnografie centrate attorno a un fare comune – fra ricercatori, registi teatrali, direttori di cinema e giovani provenienti dai mondi delle bande latine - in cui si esplora la possibilità, proprio per quei soggetti designati dalla città ufficiale come nemici dell'ordine pubblico, di elaborare contro-narrazioni di una condizione subalterna.

Eppure questo stigma, che la società adulta catalana imprime sulla gioventù migrante, si dissolve parzialmente negli scenari giovanili, dove molti ragazzi e ragazze cercano di smontare le etichette, che sono state loro attribuite, attraverso tattiche di resistenza, arti oblique dell'occultamento e della sottrazione, seguendo le intuizioni di James C. Scott, cui i subalterni ricorrono per evitare le sanzioni e i costi associati ad uno scontro frontale con il potere egemonico.

A volte lo stigma si trasforma in emblema: è così che molti giovani decidono di utilizzare gli aggettivi che mettono in scena la loro inferiorizzazione - negro e latino - per autodefinirsi e autorappresentarsi, scegliendo *apodos*, nomi di strada (Diamante Negro, Negro Eterno, La Negra, El Inka) e nomi collettivi di gruppi (Black Panthers, Desakatas Black 69, Latin Kings, Latin Forever) che ne capovolgono il senso simbolico. *Negro* e *latino* finiscono così per essere rivendicati, divenendo attraenti, popolari e imitati nei circoli della socialità giovanile.

Nella presente comunicazione proveremo a riflettere sullo stigma vissuto da queste nuove generazioni di proletariato migrante, così come sulle forme di agency che prendono forma e corpo in pratiche di contestazione contro la filosofia e i dispositivi del civismo nella capitale catalana.

From “coming community” to Temporary Autonomous Zone. Indignados Movement in Poland

Karol Haratyk, University of Warsaw, karolharatyk@gmail.com

Indignados Movement in Poland has begun after the manifestation initiated by a group of high school students in solidarity with Indignados Movement in Spain on October 15th, 2011. Despite the leftist and anarchist social movements were rather limited in number of their participants and the rightist ones were not interested in Indignados Movement, considerable number of people appeared to be interested in proposal to create a platform for cooperation and discussion between participants in different groups and movements which was put forward by the organizers of Indignados manifestation. The meetings of Indignados had place every Sunday since then for the next half a year. They lasted 2 to 11 hours (usually 4 to 6 hours). They were organized in rigorously inclusive way. Their aim was to discuss social change towards more open society and more participatory social system and to do it in a participatory and inclusive way. Paradoxically, the tension appeared between this aim and a way to achieve it; the way considered as maximally consistent with this aim as possible. One may wonder, if this very tension was one of the main causes of the disintegration of the informal structure of Indignados in Poland.

In the paper I will try to answer this question. I will interpret the dynamics of Indignados Movement in Poland with the vision of “coming community” by Giorgio Agamben contrasted with the idea of Temporary Autonomous Zone by Hakim Bey. I will focus on the relations of the movement with mass media and the usage of so-called new media by the movement as an example of the core dilemma of this movement: how to remain open without losing identity? How a movement can remain “participatory” in its practice without losing the ability to act towards participatory social system outside the movement? It is an old dilemma which have appeared in different historical periods as a conflict between the pursuit of inclusiveness and the pursuit of ideological purity. However, new social, ideological and communicative context gives this old dilemma new character which will be discussed in the paper.

Moreover, I will indicate a link between this dilemma at the group level and at the biographical level. In sociology the empowerment and agency are very often presented as two sides of the same coin and sometimes they are treated even as synonymous. I assume that they can be used to describe at the biographical level the same processes which can be grasp as participation and group identity at group level. The development of Indignados Movement in Poland indicates that the relation

between these two pairs of notions are not so unequivocal as it is so often assumed. The increase of empowerment can restrict agency and in consequence – it can cause a decrease of empowerment.

URBAN CONFLICTS II

Thursday 5th 16.00-19.00 – 7 SA

Conflict and Rivalry between Football Fans in the City of Birmingham: Using Ethnography to Explore Territoriality

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Academic literature on fandom, in particular football fandom, has shifted focus in recent decades from ‘exceptional’ fans to exploring the ‘ordinary and everyday’ fans and their experiences. Especially, the rivalry-related aspect of football fandom has been given growing attention. Gradually increasing literature has demonstrated that rivalries are unique and complex (Giulianotti 1999; Thompson 2001), underpinned by social, historical and/or cultural factors (Armstrong and Giulianotti 2001). This suggests that each rivalry must be studied in-depth in order to understand the underlying factors which shape oppositions and social identities.

One such football fan rivalry that has previously received no academic attention is that of Aston Villa and Birmingham City, despite these two being the main clubs in Birmingham, England’s second largest city, with a long history of intra-city rivalry. Since the first fixture between the two in 1879, a strong and distinct conflict has developed between the two clubs, based on its own unique and idiosyncratic social, historical and cultural factors. The notion that “soccer, and indeed sports fandom more widely in Europe in the past 30 years, is undergoing a series of important transformations that are still in process” (Williams 2007: p.144) provides justification for the in-depth examination of each subculture and the ‘everyday’ lived experiences of the fans, in a fluid and reflexive manner, in order to elucidate and continually advance the understanding of football fandom and (sub)cultural conflict.

Previous literature demonstrated that one of the most effective ways to explore and interpret football fan (sub)cultures has been through ethnography (e.g., Giulianotti 1995; Armstrong 1998; Clark 2006; Weed 2006). Participant observation was conducted at football matches involving Aston Villa and involving Birmingham City, including matches when the two played each other, as the aim was to be a participant observer where the imagined communities (Anderson 2006) of fans come together and interact (Emerson et al. 2001). In addition to participant observation, semi-structured interviews were conducted with fans of both Aston Villa and Birmingham City. These interviews were interwoven with participant observation, as one of the strengths of ethnography is that the flexibility of the research process enables interviews to provide further insight and clarification on themes and lived experiences that may have been identified during participant observation (Bryman 2008). The ontological and epistemological approach (constructivist) adopted in this study perceived people’s knowledge, opinions, interpretations and experiences as meaningful properties of their social reality and, thus, this study aimed to gather data from those whom actually experience the rivalry – the fans. This data collection process was selected in order to gain a deep and reality congruent insight into the unique and complex social, cultural and historical factors that underpin this urban conflict.

From the ethnography, it became clear that one of the key factors that underpinned the rivalry was the battle for territory within the city. The concept of territoriality (Sack 1986; Storey 2001; Delaney 2009; Elden 2010) aligned well with the data, and provided a useful structure for the analysis and discussion of data. Therefore, this first paper centres around two of the main facets of territoriality: Firstly, the majority of this paper centres on the classification of area, which essentially focuses on claims to control or own territory in Birmingham, as the data collected suggested this was of central interest to the fans; and secondly, the communication of boundaries is examined as a secondary, inter-related theme, which explores the ways some of these claims for

territory are communicated and the meanings behind this communication.

Based on the data collected, it is understood that there is a substantial amount of disagreement in terms of classifying and communicating territorial boundaries. Therefore, the territoriality argument does not 'work' (Delaney 2009), and this leads to tension and contestation, which has been found to be a central factor in this urban conflict. More specifically, the classification of boundaries demonstrated that both sets of fans attempt to claim territory as theirs in order to gain, or be perceived to have, more power. However, the claims made by fans are complex, inconsistent, and often contradictory. One specific theme that did emerge was that Aston Villa's historical footballing success is often linked to (perceived) control of territory in Birmingham, and in this respect is used to attempt to legitimise their hegemonic domination (Gramsci 1971) over their rivals when considering territory.

However, Aston Villa fans also conceded small amounts of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984) to Birmingham City fans with regard to Birmingham City bearing the city's name, which represents a degree of negotiation within the struggle for hegemonic power. Thus, in terms of classification of boundaries of territory, due to the link that fans make between footballing success and territory, fans of Aston Villa are considered here to be the legitimising identity (Armstrong and Giulianotti 2001), and Birmingham City's fans can be viewed as adopting a resistance identity.

With regard to the communication of boundaries, a Foucauldian (1977; 1978; 1980) interpretation of discourse is useful, as the importance of knowledge and how power is exerted through discourse during the strategic 'game' (Smith-Maguire 2002) was evident. Access to discourse is said to be important (Barker 2008), it has been interpreted that no individuals or groups have any particular dominance in terms of communication, which leads to further tensions and contestation as fans continue to try to gain some authority or dominance. Access to communication (and therefore discourse) remains relatively equal. Both sets of fans have similar access to the internet and fan forums. They all have the ability to collectively chant at football matches. They can all talk in groups both on match days and during the rest of the week, and so on. Therefore, with no dominance or control of the discourse, in terms of communicating territoriality, it is suggested that neither set of fans is the legitimising identity (Armstrong and Giulianotti 2001). Instead, they both appeared to be adopting an on-going project identity in order to try to change their collective situation and become dominant in terms of communicating boundaries of territory. As each rivalry is fluid and on-going, this particular urban conflict remains unresolved and a central component of both the fans' collective identities and also of the city's identity.

Collective emotions in open institutions. Trust as a metaemotion.

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In an ethnography work in the Occupy movement, we have observed how people challenge the authority of the "traditional" institutions (political and economical system). Multitude of subjects that shared the same emotions (social unrest) in the same place (Zuccotti Park in #OccupyWallstreet, Puerta del Sol in #15M, etc.), a sort of emotional contagion, caused to face-to-face contact. Trust and institutions are very interrelated. It's not possible to live in a society, or in a Country, without this basis of trust. But when it began the crisis of the mortgage in US and in Europe in 2011, people began to lose the trust in the banks, firstly, like physical space of the economical system, and later to the political system. The relation between society and these institutions was now broken and it was impossible to repair. So occupy movement born to reconstruct this trust in society, not in these institutions. Open and micro-institutions are formed by subjects that occupy these places and squares in many cities of the world. People trust in other people that in 2011 occupied together these public spaces to express their negative emotions, they were becoming increasingly frustrated and angry. Trust was broken with these old institutions; bank offices must to change physically their position in the town to try to reconstruct this trust for example. But people built alternative institutions together, in open and micro way.

This horizontal democracy was based by social institutions of cooperation and knowledge was stabilized as a valuable good by society and individuals. Trust like represents an important source to sharing information and knowledge because contributes to extend in an effective way the knowledge among the member of a community. Horizontalism is a social relationship that implies trust to communicate in a flat plan.

Also in online world, this trust constructs relationship between users. Twitter for example, represents a world where it is possible to share information and built relationship thanks to the hashtags. A lot of users created new online account just in the days of the occupy movement were present in offline squares. Knowledge was distributed thanks to these emotional ties created between users. Trust was present in these ties, not like first-order emotion, but like metaemotion. Open institutions was so generated in a Wittgensteinian way of arguing and debate in these social spaces, because we cannot have epistemic authority individualistically: *I share something with you, you take it and you give me something*. Metaemotion of trust is the basis that allows to open institution appears. In this new context, people challenged the trust in authority, where withdrawal, anger, depression are produced by this trustworthy.

This open institution distributes knowledge and understanding among the members of the community. In occupy movement, for example, social groups involved in collective actions to constitute plural subjects. In face-to-face contagion there is the tendency to automatically mimic and synchronize facial expression, vocalizations, postures, and movements with those of another person and, consequently, to converge emotionally. Emotion contagion is common in family life, social rituals, political rallies, and mass meetings. Collective emotions are the heart of the society. Trust is contagious, metaemotions are contagious, more than first-order emotion. It's infectious and causes contagion. The occupy movement has caused a chain reaction in different places of the world in 2011. A trust reaction where different societies with different economical and political systems have decided to trust in this form of protest and to adopt the same strategies in different contexts. Socially shared emotions are not just an aggregation of individual emotions, but represent unique holistic qualities of social collectives. We introduces the concepts of emotional atmosphere, emotional climate, and emotional culture that help us to understand better what means sharing emotions. Physical proximity may substantially amplify and reinforce convergence by way of facial mimicry and contagion, and verbal communication contributes to the symbolic transmission of appraisal outcomes and the descriptive labeling of emotion. In occupy movement often initially negative emotions are collectively expressing in an I-mode way. Being assembled in large crowds and subjected to contagious face-to-face processes promoted the emergence of a common collective identity, in a We-mode way. We-mode represents the heart of the process of collective identity construction being conducted within the occupy movement. Collective emotions, collective context and collective action represent the new area of study of emotion in the next years, and trust is one of them. Because emotions emerged spontaneously during the 'encounters' that took place in the public space, like joy, efficacy and empowerment (Perrugoria and Tejerina, 2013). These are first-order emotions composed thanks to metaemotion of trust.

In emotion research, we need to consider metamotions for a complete emotion theory. Because the complexity of the study of emotion recognize in the communication and language a rich font of data and information. Metaemotions are the structure of these emotional experiences in narratives. In the last years, researchers have focused in emotions regulation factors. Metaemotion research allows understand how emotion regulation and emotion management generates collateral emotions. We have presented in this paper trust as a metaemotion to explain this process. Few concepts like "trust" are as everyday as difficult to treat.

The central aspects of trust are emotional and epistemic. Trust as a metaemotion constitutes an epistemic space of people sharing knowledge. Trust is not just needed to gain access to knowledge goods, but it is essential to becoming a socially situated self, to engage in more public conversations with others. Trust as a metaemotion is internalized through social practices, in ours discourses and in ours practices.

Although trust and distrust are the fundamental social ties not yet quite understand how they work

or how to figure out its nuances and distinctions. Trust becomes a metaemotion which tames the future into horizons of the expected, of that which we count upon, of that which we feel more or less sure about. Trust contributes to taming and narrowing the horizons of the expectable so that our social life becomes possible. The construction and maintenance of the emotion and bond of trust appears to be crucial in our daily relationships, and we dare to suggest that it appears as a crucial issue far beyond the system of intimacy.

Ethnography of an urban question. Mobilizations for the conquest of space in the neighborhood of Bagnoli in Naples

Emilio Gardini, University of Naples Suor Orsola Benincasa, emilio.gardini@gmail.com

In sociological studies regarding the claims of social movements in urban conflicts returns frequently - especially thanks to the recent writings of David Harvey (Harvey, 2008; 2012) - the reference to the “right to the city”, issue introduced in the sixties by Henry Lefebvre (Lefebvre 1968). To bring back the interest of scholars towards the thesis of Lefebvre is probably the change that assume the mobilizations and the character of urban conflicts. In fact, the “urban struggles” of the sixties and seventies (Castells, 1973), moved mainly by the friction between capital and labor (Castells, Cherki, Godard, Mehl, 1977), are now more complex. We are not in front of conflicts where it is clear the opposition “of the bottom upwards” (Donzelot 2008) - typical conflicts of fordist city - but we are, however, in front of a spatialization of mobilizations that connect their disparate motivations (social justice, ecology, health, work, sense of social cohesion etc ...).

This condition also characterizes urban conflicts in the former industrial area of neighborhood of Bagnoli in the western suburbs of the city of Naples, for many years object of an endless process of urban transformation.

In Bagnoli, at the beginning of the twentieth century is located the big steel factory Italsider, then disused in the nineties due to the decline in industrial production which invests European cities since the seventies. The process of urban transformation begins with the first Bassolino administration through modification to the urban plan of 1972 (De Lucia 1995).

In 2002, the executive urban plan finds in the Urban Transformation Society (STU) *Bagnoli Futura* - a municipal society whose shareholders are the Municipality, the Campania Region and the Province - the instrument is able to speed up the process.

There are still no positive results; construction works on the sports center “Parco dello Sport” are interrupted, and, today, the only visible architecture is the wellness center “La Porta del Parco” only inaugurated. In April 2013, the Prosecutor of Naples sequesters the soils - where the STU works - for investigations on land remediation. Recently, the society was put into liquidation.

The political failures and discontent of the population for almost twenty years passed since the demise of the factory are the basic reason leading committees, collectives, movements and groups of citizens to mobilize and react to the failures of urban regeneration of an area considered strategic for development of the whole city of Naples. This does not happen through actions of violent fight but through forms of “production of space” (Lefebvre 1974) that have as their purpose the exercise of the right to the space of the city.

In addition to be in contrast with people who are considered guilty of the failures of the “Bagnoli issue”, in the actions of revenge there is the desire to work for the recovery “from bottom” of the social space of the neighborhood. The movements bring into question the model of city management by proposing alternative actions such as occupations and self-management.

From a perspective that considers the territory as a good which is claimed (Goffman, 1971), we will focus, therefore, on the “field” of relations (Bourdieu 1992) - considered as the space of dispute where the roles generate power relations - of which the movements, the neighborhood, the city and the political are part.

It is possible to read the conflict in terms of “violation and claim”? In this sense, we will try to trace - observing the practices and intentions - actions, capabilities and possibilities of social movements

and activists to influence the processes of urban transformation. What the movements and the citizens committees tell us is that the city come back to being the battleground for the expression of citizenship. In Bagnoli, therefore, the “social question” that in the past it was mainly the “worker question” became more and more an “urban question”.

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Art Movements in Tirana: creating spaces for urban critical engagement

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This paper focuses on how contemporary art movements can challenge dominating discourses of urbanization and present possible ways for resistance. Employing Lefebvres notions on the productivity of space and Marxist interpretations of the city, I will maintain that the actual built form of the city exercises control over the citizens body and behaviour. The paper analyses one case: appropriations of urban space by artists, cultural practitioners and social theorists partaking in a Tirana based project, named 1.60 Insurgent Space. Given that 1.60 Insurgent Space has been successful at pointing at dysfunctional aspects of urbanization, their ways of creating new spaces open up a path for future engagement of contemporary art in Tirana.

In this paper I want to argue that contemporary art movements in Tirana create what Lefebvre called spaces of difference (1991b), or what Foucault referred to as heterotopias (1986 cited in Wearing, 1998: ix). They contest the newly adopted urban regeneration interventions carried out in the name of development, which assume disciplinary control over the citizen. Artists and cultural theorists engaging with the cityscape of Tirana appropriate and transform spaces, consequently, challenging dominating discourses about urbanization. I will argue that Tiranans urbanization process conditions the individuals spatial practices (Lefebvre 1991b). Making use of Lefebvres explanations on how space serves, and how hegemony makes use of it, in the establishment, on the basis of an underlying logic and with the help of knowledge and technical expertise, of a system (Lefebvre, 1991b: 11), I will affirm that development interventions in Tirana are constitutive of a modernization narrative. Development strategies were designed with the purpose of transforming the image of the landscape, the citizens lived and perceived spaces. I will focus on how the new cityscape has become exclusive of the citizens docile body, and how the bureaucratization of narratives of development and modernity in Albania make it impossible for the citizen to oppose change. I will also focus on how artists engage with what Debord termed the everyday spectacle (1990), so that to bring back elements of reality to life in the city.

To this will follow a description of local perceptions on development and modernity, which have become interchangeable words signifying progress, as the result of the transitional phase which Albania is facing. The process of urbanization in Tirana can, thus, be the object of development critiques denouncing the recruit[ment] and socializ[ing of] new subjects (Gupta, 2003: 71).

I will present an ethnography of 1.60 Insurgent Space, an initiative based in Tirana concerned with

engaging artists, theorists, graphic designers, and human rights officers of several nationalities, [to] realize interventions in the urban spaces of the cities in which they are (ANK press release). My discussion will develop with reference to the assumption of a political aspect of contemporary art movements in Tirana, Albania, when appropriating public space. Although contemporary art in Tirana can be compared to interventions in the city such as those of the Situationists in Paris, urban explorations in New York (Pinder, 2005), and globalization protests in London (Uitermark, 2004), the Albanian capital offers artists and cultural practitioners the possibility to critically engage with ongoing development interventions.

I will conclude the paper stating that by appropriating space partakers in 1.60 Insurgent Space have managed to address aspects of Tirana's dysfunctional urbanization and present alternatives to it. While displacing the citizens' body and objects, 1.60 Insurgent Space has produced alternative spaces and spatial practices that affirm resistance, and change local perceptions on development and modernization. 1.60 Insurgent Space is the first independent initiative in Tirana which has revealed how modern projects of urban renewal have tended to aestheticize the social problems they displace (Zukin, 1996: 44).

The purpose of this essay is to discuss how contemporary art in Tirana appropriates urban space, critically engaging in discourses about the city, development and intervention art. I want to demonstrate how 1.60 Insurgent Space critically engages with spaces and representations of hyperreality and spectacle. 1.60 Insurgent Space superimposes, juxtaposes and intertwines realities produced from the practices of the above modern forms of social expression. I pay particular attention at how 1.60 Insurgent Space creates possibilities for new lived and perceived spaces, which are appropriated and triggered by contemporary art performances. This, in turn, opens up new discursive spaces, causing for 1.60 Insurgent Space to deal both with the tangible, real spaces of the built environment and cause speculative deliberations. At last, the more important feature that is attributed to such an initiative is the creation of heterotopias, a space which is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several sites that are in themselves incompatible [and] ha[s] a function in relation to all the space that remains (Foucault, 1986 cited in Soja 17).

While engaging with the city forms and spaces, Situationists introduced the idea of psychogeography. Again, psychogeography was not subject to precise definitions or rules, but rather a way with which to understand the influence of the surrounding environment on the individual. In his Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography, Debord focuses on psychogeography as the means to reflect upon and discover possibilities for urban action. Psychogeography could be applied in the context of urbanization, but as a possibility rather than as a venture of functionalist character (Debord online).

In this essay, I employ leftist literature about the city to explore the lives of citizens in a developing Tirana, and new designations of contemporary art movements. I point at the characteristics of intervention art, and how factors such as time and space influence resistance. I conclude the essay looking at how resistance is created by urban actions and how notions of space, discipline and regulation have been employed contributing to broader understandings of the cityscape and discourses related to it.

WORK AND CULTURE: ETHNOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVES

Chair: Giolo Fele, University of Trento, giolo.fele@unitn.it

WORK AND CULTURE I

Friday 6th 9.00-12.00 – 4 P

If you ask me to imagine it, I imagine it beautiful': young people written narratives about their future

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The quote mentioned in the title emerged from an encounter the research team of the project *iFuture* has had with a group of 18 year-old students who previously participated to a research experience whereby they were asked to write an essay about how they imagine their future. The quote suggests insights on these accounts and how to interpret them as able to construct possible, and socially embedded, futures.

Before going into the findings we want to discuss in this presentation, we offer an outline of the structure of the research project. Our aim and objective is to see, through the representations of the future suggested by young Sardinians, ways and mechanisms through which young people are able to see what resources (including symbolic ones) are available to them in their own contexts, and then choose to activate them strategically. A wide literature indicates Italian youth as a 'voiceless generation'. The mechanisms of inclusion within the labour markets are recognised to transform themselves into precarity for the youth. The expression 'having a future' can, in such a context, have an excluding meaning. One of our point of departure is that the fear of the future does not engage all youth in the same way. The capacity to imagine the future, and the ways employed to give shape to it, become a key resource to plan one's life paths and give meanings to them.

In order to capture current anxieties and hopes regarding the future, it has proved necessary to experiment an innovative methodology. The research project has taken place in Cagliari and Nuoro, and it is based on the analysis of ca 300 essays written by students on their last second year of high school. In addition, we have conducted three focus groups and a collective discussion with the students involved, the researchers and the teachers. Getting inspiration from the UK based research project called 'Living and working in Sheppey', the students were asked to imagine they were 90 and tell the story of their life. This methodology has already produced interesting results internationally (Lyon and Crow 2012), but it is still germinal in Italian scholarship.

The main objective in analysing imagined life stories is the idea to bring to light the extents to which agents are able to explore possible futures; this compounds with the autobiographical narratives which unfold through interview encounters. We instead sought to grasp the ways in which these possible futures are represented, what capacities they reveal, and in what values they are embedded. In these written narratives, we see the arguments used to make sense of choice and aims, expressions and styles chosen to provide (imagined) facts with meanings.

In this presentation, we intend to focus on three results. The first of these is that accounts of the future equal to thematically ego-centred accounts of the self. In this way, they are a powerful self expression form. The story of the future is often a story of the self as transposed in the future. 'Significant others' are only remaining actors of the scene. This focus on the self is revealed through a confusion of dimension of one's experience. Therefore, for instance, even in the excerpts in which students write about their professional experience, the workplace is the scene in which young people imagine they will meet their future partners rather than prefiguring the workplace as the

locus where professional realization will take place.

Another finding we will be discussing works as a pendant to the first one, and it is the representation of society as immobile and unchanged: the corpus of elements which changes is made up of personal experiences and people to be met. Often, these are the same significant others from adolescent years, who will be met again in significant moments such as weddings and birth of the first son/daughter. There is no particular consideration, however, of how society will change by effect of someone's actions, neither of how the person who is writing the essay will contribute to such a change. There is a lack of political action broadly intended, no prefiguration of society which improves, becomes more equal, ect. Therefore, whilst one is agency-empowered, although more often in the private sphere, the same agency does not have a transformative potential for society.

The third finding is a transversal one rather than thematic: it is in fact possible to identify in several essays a narrative structure such that of the long seriality of tv shows: everyday accounts which lay on the present and are animated by a plurality of voices. This modality of telling a story appears as a useful strategy to tell the future most of all because it resembles those fragmentary and plural narrative forms that young people use a lot in their everyday lives, i.e. social networks. Moreover, it sounds in accordance with the process of presentification which is indicated by the literature as a characteristic feature to connote contemporary youth.

In conclusion, this presentation seeks to reflect on narratives of the futures of young people and, even comparing and contrasting them with the results of focus groups, aims to discuss what it seems an attempt to positively self construction which is not, however, sustained by a reasonable capacity to plan, nor it involves hopes in one's capacity to construct a collective future beyond personal instances. In this sense, the project is an interesting case study of the current conditions of Sardinian youth and reveals some implications of the processes of self construction which are tied to the socio economic context and to the apparent lack of perspectives.

Nostalgia, tourism and heritage. The case of the controversial patrimonialization of a recent wall painting tradition in Sardinia.

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This lecture will present the results of ethnographic research aimed at analyzing an ongoing cultural heritage process through contextual discursive production. The field data are the result of research into a particular practice of wall painting that developed at the end of the 1960's in Sardinia.

From the very first *murales*, which appeared in the area of San Sperate under the impetus of a local artist, Sardinian mural production became a widely recognized cultural phenomenon. In Orgosolo (Nuoro), in particular, the *murales* functioned as symbols of an important dissent movement that energized the region from 1968 to 1970, two years when the social activism of some locals gave rise to the association « Circolo Giovanile di Orgosolo ». It was on the premises of the Circolo that manifestos of dissent and of claims were made; manifestos that decorated the region's walls for several years and that were later reproduced as *murales*.

The memory of –and the echo from– the Circolo Giovanile d'Orgosolo's three years of activity have nourished the sensibility and the spirit that were at the root of the production of most *murales*, beginning in the 1970's and continuing for a good twenty more years. Today Orgosolo and its surrounding area hold nearly two hundred and fifty *murales*, most of which were made by Francesco del Casino, a middle school teacher of design, with the help of his students. The *murales*, most of them inspired by political events, have today become an important tourist attraction at both national and international levels.

In 2010, in Orgosolo, a museum and documentation center dedicated to the *murales* were even established and named “Radichinas” (which is the Sardinian word for “roots”). The creation of such a structure is the result of a policy of preservation and enhancement of a heritage that serves as an identity marker and as a means of attracting tourists, as well as the result of the production of a discourse by which the story of the *murales* is identified as the history of the area.

These data could bring to mind the construction of a collective memory that is based on the feeling of some past “greatness” and that is set within the framework of a museum celebrating it. But the fact that this museum remained closed after its inauguration is, to the contrary, an indication of a strong tension that exists between the way in which this heritage is presented and the way in which it is perceived. The testimonies that have been collected bring out the idea of a heritage in which the “patrimonial emotion” (Fabre, 2013) is not triggered as much by the *murales* themselves but by the process that they evoke: it is a “shared action” that continues to live in an oral tradition, too, and not only in the images that are displayed on the walls of the town.

In this presentation, I will first try to analyze the discourses that have been built about this phenomenon through the changes in the uses and the functions that such *murales* have assumed over time. Next I will seek to shed light on the tension that exists between the way in which muralism is put up for exhibition in the documentation center and the way in which various groups of people in the Orgosolo community look upon such artifacts. And then the presentation will focus on the dynamics of negotiation between the discourse in favor of their recognition as heritage on the one side, and the resistance to that process on the other.

Through the analyses of the various characterizations made about such *murales* by the large number of actors involved (artists, residents, researchers, local and regional politicians), and of the various reactions to the heritage process of such graphic productions, I will bring to light how and why an “invented” tradition becomes heritage. The diversity of behaviors that we were able to observe invites us to rethink the very definition of heritage at a time when the extensive progression of such a notion into all categories of objects and practices (with the creation in 2006 of the notion of Intangible Heritage) leads not only to imbuing them with an ever more polysemous character, but also to revisiting the *fabrique patrimoniale* (Heinich, 2009).

Which place for criticism? Possible implications of the ethnographic method in management and business research

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This reflection moves from the initial phases of an ethnographic study which is currently being developed in an Italian company of mass retailing industry. It is based on my personal experience in the negotiation of access and presentation of research to the targeted organization. The issue at stake is: which is the right place for criticism when doing research on managerial and business topics? I adopt Foucault’s theorization of power relations to discuss this issue. I indeed believe that this interrogative has relevant implications both from the theoretical and the methodological point of view. My talk thus aims to be a contribution on the topic of how ethnographers approach and construct their research object when doing research in organization studies.

Preliminarily, some words on the general research project. It is essentially a study of employment relations (Sisson, 2010) in mass retailing industry. The fieldwork, although probably multi-sited in different stores, mainly takes place in the human resource management (now on HRM) department of the company. The research object is to detect all the issues and constraints caused by the (direct or indirect) intervention of clients in employees’ management: tensions, conflicts, new alliances and configurations in the relations between management, customers and workers (see Fuller and Smith, 1991).

The choice to undertake an ethnographic study might appear controversial since ethnography is not a very common methodology in managerial and business research (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). In fact, there are few ethnographic works focused on managerial problems. Among the most renowned monographs there are those of Kunda (1992) and Watson (1994). Despite these famous examples, some authors see a general decline of organizational ethnography and wonder “whatever happened?” to this strand of studies (Bate, 1997).

Nevertheless, Linstead (1997) affirms that there are several advantages in undertaking an ethnographic study of management in organizations: given the elusive nature of managerial work,

researchers are able to detect symbolic and representational aspects, power relations among the actors and to collect all the different voices competing in the field. Moreover, ethnography as a critical research praxis helps to deconstruct the taken for granted reality of everyday work, encouraging people's self reflection and possible change processes in organizations.

Does this mean that ethnography is critical *per se*? Or do we need ethnographic research to be informed by critical theory in order to obtain «critical ethnographies» of work and organizations?

Sykes and Treleaven (2009) argue that critical ethnography is characterized by an explicitly critical stand, having an emancipatory intent towards those being studied, who themselves participate to the co-construction of research with the final objective to foster action and change.

This is actually quite far from the type of research in organizational settings I am currently experiencing. While preparing the negotiation of my research, what I felt is that all the convincing actions to gain the field access were much more similar to a «marketing offer» than a «political process». For example, recently I have been told to avoid any reference to sociological theory and social science authors when presenting it. Another hint regarded the elimination of all terms with a negative connotation such as “problem”, “tension”, “paradox” etc. I was also told to put in the front stage the benefits for the company and the positive managerial implications of the research.

Similar considerations brought to light a dilemma for me: it has to do with «complicity» meaning that, while doing fieldwork, the ethnographer may contribute to the reproduction of inequalities and injustices in the field as well as in the broader society.

According to Ghorashi and Wels (2009), such a contradiction can be solved “embracing a post-modern approach to power”. In *Histoire de la sexualité: la volonté de savoir*, Foucault (1976) affirms the «strictly relational character» of power: power is not the result of subjective intentions or the opposition between dominant and dominated. Power is immanent to any kind of social relation and intrinsic in every context of human action. The post-modern Foucauldian attack on agency (Hardy and Clegg, 1999) in which power is no more a zero-sum resource in the hand of social actors but involves all subjects, represents a blow to modernist critical and emancipatory approaches: power dynamics permeates the whole social body and it is not possible to assume a position of exteriority to it. No one, including organizational ethnographers, can escape it.

The consequence, however, is not a total rejection of the possibility of doing research. On the contrary, researchers should engage in more organizational ethnographies and, in particular, they should engage with powerful actors working at the managerial levels (Watson, 2011). It could be helpful to reconcile direct antagonisms, making actors aware of the complex configuration of power relations in organizations (Ghorashi and Wels, 2009). Even because, as shown by Ram (1996), management is not a monolithic powerful entity; rather, it appears characterized by inner competition, conflicts and exposed to different pressures.

Embracing a foucauldian approach to the study of power phenomena has also implications for theory development. Among HRM scholars, for example, there is an ongoing debate regarding the status of critical management studies. On one side, authors like Keegan and Boselie (2006) hope for a more substantive contribution of dissensus-inspired analysis to established HRM theory and practice. On the other, Delbridge and Keenoy (2010) wish for the creation of a separate «critical HRM» discipline. Similarly, looking at two authoritative figures in the tradition of organizational ethnography, whereas Watson (2011) invites ethnography to «go mainstream», Van Maanen (2011) argues that it is precisely from its position at the margins of academia that organizational ethnography can give a contribution, “pushing new problems, concepts and theoretical challenges into the mainstream”.

“Which is the place for criticism?” evidently remains an open issue in ethnographic studies in organizations. I hope this brief notes can foster the debate and contribute to a more critical as well as effective ethnographic practice in management and business research.

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The effects of the economic crisis and managerialism on social work: how the intensification of work and control reshape working practices and relationships.

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In recent decades, the Western welfare states have undergone a radical transformation as a result of both the neoliberal reforms, with the introduction of a strong economic logic and the diffusion of New Public Management (Hood 1991), and the global economic crisis. These have produced substantial financial resources and, more generally, involved the transition from a model based on universal citizenship rights to targeted services, to which access has been gradually reduced, through the definition of stringent eligibility criteria (Jones 2001).

In the Italian context, the development of management procedures is related to, among others, the helping professions that work in social services, influencing many aspects of professional practice (Fargion 2009). Especially in social work practice, the goals are increasingly characterized by the search for efficiency and rationalization, with the introduction of quality standards of services and tools for monitoring, and cost control through the massive use of budgeting (Rogowski 2001). Other significant transformations are results orientation, performance evaluation and characterization of clients as 'customers', who can choose between different agencies - actually more in theory than practice -. These changes have resulted in a fragmentation of the work in phases, and an internal division into separate areas and services related to specific client groups.

Secondly, different hierarchical levels have been established, in particular with the creation of intermediate managers, which act with a filter function between the upper and lower levels of the organization. The increase of senior figures, combined with the introduction of standardization processes, detailed procedures and devices have led to question the existence of a rift between 'first-line' professionals and managers (Kirkpatrick, 2006; Tousijn 2008). Moreover, they can produce a loss of autonomy and discretion of the operators, to such an extent that they represent a risk of actual 'distortion' of the profession (Lorenz, 2005; Roose et al. 2010). The changes described above, can be summarized as a general intensification of work, of use of technology and control over professional practice; these have indeed created a new working environment, especially for

social workers. As a result, the rise in workload on the one hand and the compelling fulfillment of administrative and bureaucratic tasks to the other can deplete the ethical content, characteristic of the profession (Facchini, 2010).

The paper produces some evidence from an ongoing qualitative study, based on about 40 in-depth interviews (Cardano 2010) to both front-line professionals (social-health operators, educators and social workers) and managers working in two different contexts: the first one is the Social Service Department of a big town, Turin, so a large-sized organization, the second is a smaller one, a consortium of local Social Services in a suburban area.

The study analyzes interviewees' representations of the changes, outlined in the theoretical introduction, making a comparison between managers' and professionals' «inner states» (Cardano 2010) and specifically: intents and purposes at one side, meanings of actions on the other side. The addressed issues focus on how front-line operators deal with this transformation of workplace in their everyday working lives, as far as both internal (between different hierarchical levels and occupational groups) and external (mainly with service users) relations are concerned. The analysis is aimed at highlighting the strategies adopted to manage the dilemma between the ethos of new management models and the mission of the social work profession, or rather the tension between the commitment to institutional goals, on the one hand, and the professional responsibility to help people in need and to address social problems, on the other hand.

The first results show several consequences on the working practices of all the interviewees, due to the recent economic crisis; in effect, decision-makers, both on the social and on the political side, have decided to reduce financial resources for social care, through budget cuts and agency constraints. Moreover, social workers' specific tasks and roles have been gradually entrusted to different professions (for example the 'social-health operators') that represent cheaper but less qualified human resources. Attrition, besides, has produced an ageing and dwindling workforce, particularly as for professionals conducting fieldwork, in direct contact with clients. Firstly, the decrease of skilled staff has implied, among other things, a gradual redefinition of working time: a rise in caseload and demands to speed up the pace of work, at the expense of the social worker-client relationship, that risks becoming mundane and routinized. Secondly, social operators reduce time dedicated to dialogue and debate with other professionals, working in different fields either within or outside the Social Service Department. They also sacrifice critical and reflexive practice, that is essential to re-examine the case study, in terms of professional assessment and self-assessment.

Simultaneously, the search for efficiency and rationalization has involved an increasing degree of control over social work practice: managers have the possibility to modify operators' intervention proposals, mainly for economic reasons, indeed they often discourage 'expensive' interventions. In addition, the introduction of automated information systems and the use of standardized forms for the assessment of clients' needs, aimed at fostering the accountability of social work, have been rarely appreciated and supported by front-line operators.

Nevertheless, tentative conclusions seem to indicate the absence of a cleavage between first line practitioners and the upper stratum of professionals who assume managerial roles; besides, against a risk of deprofessionalization of social work professions, there are no signs of collective strategies of resistance to this process, like those documented in the literature on health professionals (Tousijn 2013) the strategies are predominantly acted at the individual level.

WORK AND CULTURE II

Saturday 7th 9.00-12.00 – 3 P

Pornography and the Performance of Sexual Liberation

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In this paper I take the feminist consciousness raising group to which I belong as a specific object

for ethnographic research. The group consists of approximately 10 heterosexual and lesbian women and we meet once a month to share individual experiences of sex and pornography. The founding premise is that pornography is a mode of representation and a material practice that subjugates women (and others). In laying bare seemingly private, individual experiences we have discovered patterned commonalities of sensibility and analysis. We propose a relationship between the personal and the political, and in so doing attempt to develop strategies for resistance not only to pornography but to the larger culture out of which pornography emerges. I am also an academic who deploys Foucauldian analytical categories to make sense of social phenomena. My paper describes the shared experiences of the consciousness raising group and places the ideas and the strategies for political activity that emerge into productive tension with Foucault's genealogical, non-humanist approach. The key terms that I reflect upon to analyze issues that emerge from the ethnographic field are: subjugated knowledge; the normalization/medicalization of sexuality; bio-power and bio-politics; governmentality; neo-liberalism; and ethics.

As a feminist who was active during the 1970s and 1980s I have witnessed the rise, decline and fall of feminist concepts of the subject, patriarchy, and oppression. After the 'sexual revolution' of the late 1960s pornography was broadly defined, outside of religious discourse, along the two axes of liberalism and feminism. With regard to liberalism, the pornography industry and libertarian campaigns of the 1960s and 1970s described pornography as the liberation of women and men's sexuality from its alleged previous repression. In so doing it deployed terms from liberal political philosophy, namely the dichotomies free speech/ censorship, private/ public, market freedom/ state and individual/ society. The moral claim was that pornography is a forum where private individuals express their free sexuality and unless a law has been broken, the state has no business interfering with pornography's production and consumption. This remains the epistemological, political and moral framework for understanding internet pornography in the early 21st century.

In opposition to this position, feminist theory and activism during the 1970s and 1980s analysed pornography as antithetical to women's (and men's) sexual liberation and as such critiqued the alleged freedoms of democratic government. Feminism challenged the liberal political dichotomies deployed by proponents of pornography and did so by means of a central tenet that 'the personal is political'. In opposition to the view that pornography gives expression to an untrammelled or ungoverned sexuality, feminist theory argued that pornography constructs female and male sexuality by naturalising the social hierarchies of gender. In this view the moral wrong of pornography does not lie in the infringement of statutory individual 'rights' to produce and consume pornography but in pornography's depiction of a demeaned female sexuality which reduces women to body parts for sexual use. In this view pornography contributes to a culture of systemic sexual abuse and violence against women which runs alongside and permeates liberal democratic institutions.

A pro-pornography feminism was also active during this period but was more marginal within feminist literature and politics. It argued that pornography, in contrast to a previous patriarchal repression of women's sexuality, legitimates women as sexual beings and provides an imaginary space for them to explore erotic fantasies. Pro-pornography feminism made moral claims by drawing a distinction between practices enacted in pornography, and actual conduct in the real world. It gained in popularity, and reached a hegemonic position by the mid-1990s as more life-affirming of women and men's sexuality than anti-pornography feminism.

A period of relative feminist silence ensued in the later years of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century. This corresponded with the ascendancy of a neo-liberal political context and three inter-related phenomena. Firstly, this period witnessed a vast expansion of the pornography industry through internet technology. Pornography now mainstreams what, in the 1970s and 1980s, would have been considered hard-core. Secondly, a normalisation of pornography consumption has occurred and this includes a growth and, in some cultural contexts, a celebration of women viewing and taking pleasure in pornography. Thirdly, there has been a popularisation of the concept of 'post-feminism'. Women have allegedly finally achieved equality with men in both public and domestic spheres, and one of their sexual freedoms is defined as the freedom to consume and produce

pornography on equal terms with men. Thus, in a reversal of previous feminist aspirations, the threat to women's sexual agency became culturally defined within 'post-feminism' as arising from anti-pornography feminism, not pornography itself.

There is a current resurgence of feminism however which plunders anew the iconic classic feminist texts for subjugated ideas which help analyse the relationship of pornography to wider social structures and the state. In so doing it asserts the sexual freedoms promised by an alleged 'post-feminist' neo-liberal society discipline women (and men) in traditional ways. Although the feminist concepts deployed are largely unaffected by Foucault's non-humanist analytical categories, I propose that the contrasting epistemic and ethical approaches are not antithetical as might first appear. My paper will demonstrate this by taking the inherent tension in my ethnographic field as its point of departure: on the one hand a consciousness raising group can be seen to involve 'speaking sex' as a confessional practice, thus intensifying the disciplinary sexual subjectivity from which, as group members, we attempt to be freed; on the other hand group discussion involves the construction of subjugated knowledges from subaltern experiences which then create a space for dissident activity. Moreover it is through this tension that I, as a Foucauldian theorist, experience epistemic and ethical modification of the relationship I have with myself and with others, including my sexual partner. Through reclaiming the analytical categories patriarchy and capitalism, and enjoying the renewed political activism and resistance they inspire, this paper contributes to the development of a new, non-humanist theory of the materialism of the subject.

Diaspora e strategie di adattamento culturale: la creatività del sacro nella frontiera nordorientale dell'India

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La comunità etnica degli Apatani – convenzionalmente considerata come un gruppo *adivasi*, ovvero indigeno (abitanti *ab origines* del subcontinente indiano) – è una delle *scheduled tribes* più importanti della regione di confine fra l'India e la Cina. Essi sono stanziati in una zona centrale del distretto di Lower Subhansiri, nelle vallate ricoperte di giungla dell'Arunachal Pradesh. Questo popolo vanta un'antica origine, che si fa tradizionalmente risalire al mitico antenato Abo Tani, il quale si dice fosse anticamente giunto da una qualche regione a nord-est lungo la catena himalayana o dal Tibet. Questa è realmente la probabile ipotesi circa l'origine di un gruppo tribale che ancora oggi mantiene la propria lingua distinta appartenente al ceppo tibeto-birmano. Tuttavia molte altre comunità etniche limitrofe, così come gli Apatani, attraversarono l'intera regione nel corso dei secoli. Per affinità, anche altre tribù contigue, i cosiddetti "gruppi Tani", condividono lo stesso ciclo epico cosmogonico e sostengono di discendere dallo stesso antenato, ma attraverso percorsi e lignaggi di parentela differenti. Pertanto, il ciclo di Abo Tani ha avuto nei secoli un ruolo fondamentale: attraverso le narrazioni mitologiche, si conferma l'appartenenza del gruppo a una cultura e a un luogo specifici, giustificando allo stesso tempo i suoi movimenti migratori.

Questa mobilità delle tribù di collina in un *background* regionale fortemente influenzato da tratti caratteristici del mondo buddhista e indu è stato senza dubbio originariamente ispirato da una lotta per gli spazi vitali. Migrazione, strategie di adattamento (anche culturale), negoziazione dello spazio, sono da sempre state le peculiarità di questo crocevia culturale. Allo stesso tempo, il ciclo epico di Abo Tani tende a riaffermare simboli alla fine condivisi dalla vicine comunità indu e buddhiste. Il mito cosmogonico poi risolve e compone tensioni interculturali e possibili lacune, al fine di integrarli in una narrazione principale che qui assume una dimensione transculturale. Anche le pratiche sciamaniche in generale, riferite spesso in termini di "culto dei defunti" o "adorazione degli antenati", presentano una vasta gamma di caratteristiche che sono di fatto condivise non solo dagli altri *adivasi* d'India, ma che subiscono anche la forte influenza dalle prevalenti tradizioni del luogo. Accanto a una foresta abitata da spiriti ancestrali e divinità, il cosmo è immaginato essere bipartito tra il mondo dei vivi e dei morti. Nel sottosuolo, una dimensione diametralmente opposta alla superficie, si crede che si estenda il regno dei defunti. Secondo gli Apatani, lo stesso spazio

circostante uomini è una successione di livelli differenti e sovrapposti: questi intersecano il territorio della tribù e gradualmente diventano vieppiù rarefatti e sottili. Attraverso questi livelli è possibile percepire un'osmosi storica tra antiche tradizioni e contenuti culturali trasmessi attraverso gli specialisti della religione che da sempre si sono riconosciuti vicendevolmente per autorità e carisma.

Oggi la modernità e i cambiamenti sociali in atto nella regione hanno portato a nuovi scenari di conflitto e nuove forme di crisi identitaria. I gruppi separatisti impiegano la questione etnica per promuovere le spinte centrifughe e la partecipazione a gruppi terroristici e combattenti. Viceversa, altri movimenti di riforma sociale e religiosa promuovono piattaforme identitarie *ibride* per rivendicare l'autonomia politica locale. Ancora una volta, in tale contesto, la narrazione collettiva del mito di Abo Tani e il rituale celebrato dagli sciamani della comunità riconferma per la collettività il senso di appartenenza al gruppo, in un equilibrio ambientale che oggi si fa sempre più fragile. E documenta infine un fenomeno in continua evoluzione di rinnovamento culturale.

A view from the institution that converts: the reinvention of dzogchen Buddhist tradition in the West

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Contrary to commonly held beliefs regarding conversion, perceived exclusively as a result of an individual and personal path – the conversion of Paul of Tarsus on the road to Damascus constitutes a model *par excellence* – conversion is also, in reality, a product of relational exchanges between the different social actors that compose its universe.

This last affirmation is the conclusion reached at the end of an ethnographic research project, of which the aim was to understand *how* the conversion of certain individuals occurs regarding a particular teaching of Tibetan Buddhism, called *dzogchen*. The study was realized through participant observation and the methodology called “life history” and took place between 2010 and 2012 in France and Italy within retreat centers and groups of adherents in Marseille and Nice.

Amongst the various social actors that *interplay* – and that influence each other reciprocally - in the conversion field studied, it is possible to consider the exchanges between *dzogchen* adherents themselves as well as the exchanges between the Tibetan “institution” and the members of the association networks taken into account (Rigpa and the International Dzogchen Community).

The object of this paper concerns this last interaction and focuses on the institution “that converts”. Especially, this presentation will examine the adaptation of Tibetan *lama* speeches - which were observed during the project - to “Western” public demands.

In fact, “*it's not so much contemporary ideologies that are influenced by Buddhist philosophy and rhetoric, but rather the latter which, in contact with our societies, owe their success to their ability to imitate*”.

The aim of the presentation is, in particular, to show the discourse strategies developed by the institution in order to make Tibetan Buddhism and *dzogchen* attractive in our cultural context. .

To achieve this goal, the use that Tibetan masters make of the categories of “tradition” and “modernity” is taken into account. The alternation of a “modernist” or a “traditionalist” register, according to context, corresponds to a process of tradition reinvention. In fact, the masters utilize these two categories typical of postindustrial societies in which *dzogchen* teaching is spreading.

On one hand, Buddhism legitimates itself like a “modern” religion. It would be “rational” and in line with the Cartesian spirit of our period because, in its philosophical structure, the human condition and external reality are explained in the smallest details.

Furthermore, Buddhism is compatible with contemporary science, anticipating and confirming certain discoveries several centuries in advance, particularly in the context of quantum physics. In addition, its meditative techniques and some religious practices would help contemporary human beings to calm daily apprehension and to bring peace of mind. So, some exchanges with a

therapeutic aim are organized and put in place with psychology. In order to practice *dzogchen*, in the end, masters affirm that it is not necessary to leave one's own professional career, family life or loved ones. This teaching would therefore adapt well to current human life.

On the other hand, Tibetan Buddhism and *dzogchen* declare themselves to be a “really *authentic*” tradition, remaining true to themselves through time when compared with other religious traditions, like Christianity, whose original message, according to certain participants in this study, would have been lost over time. The reason for this is that the religious knowledge of *dzogchen* would have been preserved integrally and without any change over the centuries through the medium of lineage, that is to say the chain of knowledge transmission communicated through the relationship between the master and his disciple.

In fact, every religious tradition conceives itself as unchangeable. In this sense, the *dzogchen* system of thinking can be entirely considered as a religious tradition. However, it reinvents itself continually on the basis of the present, as indicated by the examples given earlier.

It is a typically “modern” discourse to claim an authenticity of tradition, as it is to present Tibetan Buddhism and *dzogchen* as a “current” teaching.

Secondly, the discursive strategies of Tibetan masters will be analyzed. In addition to using a “traditional” and “modernist” register, certain elements, perceived in a negative or suspicious way by a potential “Western” audience, are not cited in the masters’ discourse.

At first, Tibetan *lamas* refuse to qualify Buddhism as a religion. One may define Buddhism, instead, as a “universal wisdom”, a “life philosophy” or a “spiritual path”. In particular, *dzogchen* would be even less a religion when compared to other Buddhist schools because of its “essential” character. In fact, what is asked of practitioners is simply to reside in the “nature of mind”, the primordial condition of the human being.

This claim is made in order to differentiate it from other religions, in particular from Christianity, whose history is generally perceived negatively by some of the participants interviewed.

So, if *dzogchen* religion does not exist, then it follows that there is no religion to which one may “convert”. Furthermore, the use of the word “conversion” is perceived as an “institutional constraint” and a limitation. This is because it is insufficient to describe lived religious experience simply through trying to partially translate it into words.

Social actors who go to listen to Tibetan *lamas* usually have an attitude of “rupture” in respect to the institutional dimension of religion (like, for example, the clergy) or have a suspicious attitude toward it. For this reason, the institutional aspect, linked to the social organization of *dzogchen* Buddhism, is not an element that is generally displayed during masters’ public appearances. However, this paper will try to prove, based on observations and recalling the perspective elaborated by Max Weber, that the *dzogchen* association networks are in a phase of “institutionalization”.

In conclusion, this presentation will discuss how the *dzogchen* organizations studied adapt their discourse with the aim of making teaching attractive for a potential Western audience and especially how this favors the conversion process of certain individuals.

Two principal discursive strategies will be analyzed in particular: the first concerns the legitimization of *dzogchen* as both a “traditional” and “modern” religion. The second concerns the omission of certain topics, towards which those who approach Buddhism generally disagree.

This process of public discourse transformation makes thus “Western” *dzogchen* an emblematic case of sacred creativity and transformation.

WHO'S THE AUTHOR? AND WHOSE ARE THE FINDINGS?

Convenor: Paolo Boccagni, University of Trento, paolo.boccagni@unitn.it
Thursday 5th 16.00-19.00 – 2 P

The multiple boundaries of ethnographic inquiry: liminal experiences as opportunities for reflexive knowing

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In the last thirty years, numerous theoretical works have been devoted to elaborate on the nature of ethnographers' relationship with fieldwork members (e.g. Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Feldman et al, 2003; Lassiter, 2005; Gobo, 2011; Boccagni, 2011). The focus of this work is at the same time broader and more specific: we propose to explore the *boundary characteristics* of the multiple relations that shape the ethnographic fieldwork. Such a reflective exploration has the potential to raise new insights on our research objects, and to offer new lenses for analyze our findings.

Our theoretical proposal is to conceptualize the relations of the ethnographic fieldwork as an *ongoing and inter-subjective process of boundaries construction, moving, blurring and dissolution*. Such an assumption explains why ethnographers often find themselves in liminal situations, standing at the edge of different worlds and experiencing the blurred hyphen-space between themselves and the "others" (Fine, 1994, Cunliffe & Karunanayake, 2013). Drawing on different boundary theories (Lamont & Molnàr, 2002; Hernes, 2003; Lefebvre, 1991; Gyerin, 1982) we propose a composite framework that allows interpreting the multiple relationships between researchers and fieldwork members in terms of a *shapeshifting configuration of different boundaries*.

The type of boundaries. Ethnographic boundaries might be of different types, namely they can represent different types of processes (Lefebvre, 1991; Hernes, 2003). *Social* boundaries refer to people social identities and belongings (e.g. the boundaries circumscribing ethnic groups or communities of practice). *Political* and *structural* boundaries refer to more normative and regulative borders, such as physical partitioning or official rules. *Mental* boundaries are less visible and encompass individuals' ways of making sense of the world: they pertain to the sphere of theory, knowledge and meaning.

The function of boundaries. The boundaries that researchers and field members construct in-interaction can either *separate* them (this way stressing their different identities and social belonging) or can *tie them together* (this way bringing their similarities to the fore). Boundaries can also serve an *ordering* function (by regulating groups' internal behaviors) and a *threshold* one (by regulating the movement between internal and external spheres) (Hernes, 2003). In the ethnographic fieldwork, boundaries' function is not fixed: the nature of the inter-subjectively produced knowledge depends on researchers and members' mutual positionings at different moments of the research process.

The "texture" of boundaries: Boundaries can be material or immaterial. Immaterial boundaries might not be noticed by all research participants (including the researcher), but also tangible boundaries can be endowed with symbolic meanings interpreted differently by different people (Lamont & Molnàr, 2002). Wenger (2006:104) notes that an immaterial boundary can effectively obstruct the participation to a community just as tangible borders do: "the nuances of the jargon of a professional group distinguishes the inside from the outside as much as do certificates".

In the paper, we will reflect on some fieldwork experiences to show how analyzing the ongoing boundary configuration of the ethnographic relationships might shed new light on the research

findings. Here, by way of example, we analyze through a “boundary lens” a brief excerpt of an ethnographic diary redacted by one of the authors (EGL). It refers to a 2-months fieldwork in a hospital unit, where she examined health professionals’ ways to construct the concept of “patient centred medicine” in and throughout their discourses and practices.

Today I’ve entered the third week of my fieldwork at the Rehabilitation unit. Last week M. (the medical director) and the head nurse told me they were going to select the “proper” practitioners to be shadowed. (...) This morning M. introduces me to L., a physician that I met during my participant observations. “So, you are going to chase me wherever I go today, correct?” he asks smiling at me. (...) While we are heading to his office, L. tells me that he has found a spare white coat that I can wear during the shadowing, “so that you will look like an intern”, he explains me. (...). When the round visits starts, I follow him and the group of interns in the first patients’ room. Nobody mentions to the patients that I am conducting a research: by wearing the white coat, I am completely camouflaged within the interns’ group.

The white coat that the physician gave to Elisa embodies a tangible boundary (*boundary texture*) that separated (and protect) her from the lay people populating the hospital (*boundary function*). By giving Elisa the white coat, the medical director was framing her as more similar to hospital practitioners than to patients and their families: she belongs to (and share the privileges of) the “people with the white coat” (*boundary nature*). Indeed, the coat allowed her to cross organizational spaces as physicians and nurses did. This and analogous events suggested Elisa that “people with the white coat” occupied such a privileged position in the hospital that no one could question their presence, even if they have never seen them before. By reflecting on the boundaries characteristics of her emerging relationship with the hospital practitioners, Elisa gained insights on how the medical staff constructed patients’ role, position and authority inside the hospital, which at the time was her main research interest.

Through a theoretical elaboration on boundary function, texture and nature, this work aims to contribute to our understanding of the multiple boundaries that shape the relations between ethnographers and research participants. The construction of such relations not only reverberates on our ethnographic practice, but might also be explored reflexively to produce fresh insights on our research objects.

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Dialogic: what kind of research practice?

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Dialogic topic is assuming more and more interest by various social disciplines: from anthropology

to psychology, from sociology to political sciences, dialogic has a new appeal and now talking about dialogical approach appears the new frontier of the research.

Despite that, the literature demonstrates a lack of methodological reflection on what are the dialogic effects in the concrete research practices.

The aim of this paper is primarily oriented to fill this gap. Assuming a critical and a reflexive point of view, the paper asks one essential question: what kind of relationship develops between the researcher and the social actor?

To answer this question the paper proposes identifying four different types of relationship in social research: an adversarial type based on the acceptance of a dualistic point of view between researchers and social actors; an idyllic type, which is characterized by the negation of the conflict and the imposition of the technical power of the researcher; the institutional type, which is characterized by the negotiation of involvement spaces dedicated to social actors in the research process; and, finally, the dialogic type which assumes the social actor as a real co-protagonist of the research process.

Following classical ethnographic research, the effects of the dialogic type are analyzed by rediscovering all the practices that include a particular involvement of the social actor in the research activities.

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Me and my powerlessness in tomato land

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I am suggesting that being inside of the production level will enable me to understand the process of gender processing in food processing through processing myself inside it' (April 2013, before going the field).

'If someone asks me anything about ethnography, I will say her; ethnography is an emotional torture' (August 2013, in fieldwork diary).

These above statements demonstrate how I find myself in discussing the dilemmas of doing ethnography. Clearly seen from the first one, before going to field I was totally enjoyed and was being proud of the possibility of becoming a subject of my own research. However, in the field, academic satisfaction of the possibility of reaching the less fragmented knowledge has been easily suppressed by more practical problems or feelings and hence, doing ethnography has become an emotional torture. In this paper, I basically try to evoke what circumstances lead me to write the above second statement through basing on the analysing of the power relations between my 'research subjects' and me in the field.

While doing this, I will departure from the following popular and contentious questions in feminist methodological literature, particularly in feminist ethnography; do feminists conduct research on women who are less powerful than themselves? Is there any inequality in the research relationship since those being studied tend to be in less-privileged positions than the researcher? To these questions, my response is a resounding 'no' and in this paper, I set out to scrutinise these questions by resolving their suppressive presumptions for feminist ethnography. The discussion draws on participant research in Turkey, which took place over a period of two months, with seasonal migrant

workers, particularly women working in 'tomato land', a field where tomatoes are primarily cultivated.

During the fieldwork process, I encountered several dilemmas that led me to think more critically about the asymmetrical power relationships that emerged during the fieldwork. It is significant to note that, prior to undertaking this fieldwork, I had not set out to achieve the perfect balance in power relationships in the field. However, I was aware to negotiate the differences that depended on my 'privileged' position. Furthermore, I realised during my fieldwork that I overestimated the 'privilege' that would be afforded to me in 'tomato land'; that privilege may be apparent in my domain, but not in theirs. In this paper, I highlight how I was positioned at the bottom of the power hierarchy when in the field, on the contrary to what is suggested in most of the literature. I may be more 'powerful' than them as a sociologist, but not as a rural worker.

In this instance, I demonstrate how I failed to sufficiently probe the definition of 'power' before my fieldwork. I considered myself more powerful than them because I was more educated, had more money, and came from a more privileged ethnic group within Turkey. I had forgotten that meaning is never 'fixed' and that I had defined my 'power' from the perspective of the ruling groups. Therefore, this paper is an exploration of the process by which I experienced powerlessness during my fieldwork and how this impacted on my feelings towards my research subjects and also myself. With these aims in mind, I will handle the reflections of the different backgrounds of those being studied and myself on the portrayal of the material world and the world of ideas. Firstly, I will demonstrate how my attempt to hide the material things, which I have such as my high quality gloves or my father's car, is actually my arrogance. Then, I will try to show that how the different value systems of those being researched and me makes me depressed. My entire fieldwork diary is filled up with my complaining about feeling alone and helpless in the field and also with my blaming to my research subjects because of judging me from their perspectives. On the other hand, I have also blamed myself to wait 'understanding' from my perspective. Indeed, my fieldwork diary is an endless dilemma of an endless story.

As a conclusion, I would like to emphasise that I hesitate to see this sense of powerlessness in another research method. I think that it is related to entering into the territory of 'being researched' and where it is really difficult to be yourself if you want to continue to do your research. In this scenario, the most problematic dilemmas arise to the fore; you are fixed within your academic and personal characteristics. At least, I believe I was stuck within these constraints. And so, in order to move beyond this, I had to admit that there I had no 'ideal' researcher self or 'ideal' personal self, just as there is no 'ideal' worker or landowner, or friend. Moreover, there is no 'ideal' power, which you can use in every domain and ethnography is a way to learn this.

(De)constructing addictions through elite interviews

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Intro: problems in interviewing elites

Elite interviews have often proved problematic, due to the complex forms of power relations involved as well as to the fact that the knowledge supposedly being transmitted is often subject to forms of crystallization that alter the spontaneity of the exchange and as such, have an impact on the findings themselves. However, whereas a convergence of goals or value exists between the interviewer and the interviewee, some phases of the interview experience -such as access or trust gaining- may be tackled relatively easy if not unproblematically (as in cases of research involving colleagues, see K Smith 2006). Conversely, when conflicts are implied, access can be overly difficult (if not impossible), and the exchange thematically deficitary or poorly communicative. This paper locates itself in an interesting position along this imagined continuum.

The focus: the (de)construction of addictions as a power game

This paper discusses the construction of addiction through interviewing elites in the addictive fields.

Our main argument is that while on the one hand it may be considered obvious why in the fields of gambling, tobacco and alcohol the relative industries can be called and considered addictive, our empirical material suggests a variety of positions around the social construction of the addictive field as such. Notably, some interviewees resist to define their field as addictive, discursively constructing it as if it was very close to non addictive business and only deserving some special attention. This paper is intended to discuss these mechanisms beyond the differences among the various fields (Casswell, 2013) to ultimately put them in a more general framework which considers to read CSR discourses and practices as attempts to minimize conflicts of interest. In principle, in fact, CSR actions in addictive fields are believed to contain inherent elements of conflicts of interest (Babor et al. 2010), but our reflections are based on a more articulated reading of conflicts of interest, one which considers the hypothesis that this conflict may result less visible or underplayed, through a pretension of transparent governmentality and harmony. This is usually seen as finalized to avoid restrictive legislation and elaborate a business model which is long lasting in the market. Our interpretation draws from a 'post political' reading, which lies beyond the articulation of interest and defense of corporate position. This has been theoretically suggested by Garsten and Jacobsson (2013, 2011) and is the object of an empirical assessment by the authors of the present paper in a separate piece of work (under review).

Methods

The empirical material discussed is drawn from the EU funded project ALICE RAP, which looks at addictions from a multidisciplinary perspective. For what concerns this paper, the focus is on the governance of addictions through various Corporate Social Responsibility (herein, CSR) practices in several fields (alcohol, gambling and tobacco), in several countries (Italy, the Netherlands, the UK, the EU level). To explore them, interviews were conducted with informants holding privileged knowledge of the governmentality of such fields or being industry actors themselves engaged in the production of CSR (what we refer here to as 'elite interviewees'). We also draw on documentary sources, field notes taken by the authors and discussions occurred at various stages of this research with research partners who were engaged in data collection.

Findings

This paper aims at investigating the specific ways through which the collection of data of such a research has proved possible and discussing how the specific ways in which it has happened further highlight the construction of addictive fields as depending on more or less harmonious relations among the parties involved. We also discuss how this has impacted on the findings across the various addictive fields and the various countries involved. Therefore, whilst drawing on the hypothesis that this convergence is partly found in some of the addictions we have studied (most notably, gambling in the UK), we discuss the phenomenology of access to elite interview in different countries and different addictions, and how CSR takes place within ambivalent research relations. A 'post political' attitude designed in the way we mentioned is found to have an impact on the construction of knowledge, ranging from obtaining very informative and exhaustive accounts in those cases where the minimization of conflicts of interest was stronger, to post- interview manipulation of transcripts (as in gambling in Italy) or even refusal to participate to the study (as in the tobacco field). While fostering a seemingly constructive dialogue, the first attitude is not exempt from ambivalences; and while apparently preventing any research to be conducted, refusal to participate in fact confirms very strong positions already crystalized in the field in terms of both interpretations of rules and regulation as well as communication and PR.

Therefore, not only will this paper suggest what research practices might better produce qualitative data in research areas with similar constraints; more significantly, it will reflect on how methodological considerations reinforce a counterintuitive interpretation of the governance of the addiction field and open up the ways for a critical assessment of CSR in areas where the conflict of interest are deemed to be high.

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Implicit co-authorship in ethnographic work

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As a Ph. D. student in social anthropology, I examine the interface between law and science in the context of India through the ethnographic study of the practice of forensic medicine in three North-Indian medical colleges. On a day-to-day basis, I follow the various activities of the members of these departments: medico-legal autopsies, clinical medico-legal examinations, depositions in courts, interactions with colleagues, police officers, relatives of the victims and accused, doctors from other departments, etc. The aim of my research project is to observe how doctors shape their understanding of a case through a narrative process which integrates medical and non-medical facts. Through this abstract, I propose a paper whose purpose is to discuss the implicit dimension of co-authorship that exists in my own ethnographic work. This implicit co-authorship has various origins, in particular the control my informants want to have on my interpretations of the data they provide me.

In the initial stages of my fieldwork, this implicit co-authorship was particularly fruitful as it was providing me a certain number of interpretative frameworks for my observations, together with fresh elements of data. During my interviews, I used to have these informants talk freely about their work and medico-legal cases, which seemed natural to them as they also teach forensic medicine to undergraduate medical students. Yet, although this strategy proved useful during the early stages of my work, it has then been necessary for me to take some distance from the vision these doctors have about their own activities. Thus, relying on the growing trust my informants had in me, I managed to start thinking and writing about the importance of non-medical facts in forensic expert's thinking processes, or about the way mistakes are managed.

Nonetheless, my informants generally consider that some issues are not to be talked about, for instance when they are related to conflicts within the departments or involve matters of corruption. As they can easily listen to my presentations or read my articles on the Internet, I have to pay attention to respect their conditions.

In addition, the amount of trust they give me and which determines my possibility to maintain my access to data also depends on their own opinion, based on their own criteria of evaluation, on the validity and quality of my scientific work. Therefore, part of my scientific production also needs to tackle these topics or issues that they consider as important, and all of it needs to avoid dealing with these issues that are regarded as too sensitive.

Although this is not explained in my texts, the nature of the topics I discuss and of the examples I provide and rely on is the result of a negotiation with my informants. Relying on and reinforcing my relationship of trust with them, I will look to convince them of the relevance of my ideas and therefore have them authorize me use the data they had provided me in such a manner. Whereas the exactitude of my conclusions depends on the scientific precision of my work, the amount of details I can provide in my conference papers or journal articles, the richness of the ethnographic portions of my thesis, or the amount of case data I can base my work on – all elements on which I will base my theoretical demonstrations –, will directly depend on my informants' understanding of my theoretical perspectives.

WHY ETHNOGRAPHY TODAY?

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WHY ETHNOGRAPHY TODAY I

Friday 6th 9.00-12.00 – 2 P

Un terreno antico, un risultato nuovo? Riflessioni su una esperienza etnografica di auto-perdizione

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La mia esperienza etnografica, prolungatasi a lungo nel tempo su un ventaglio selezionato ed insistito di campi e di argomenti, ha raggiunto un punto fermo, a mio avviso, con la scrittura complessiva delle esperienze svolte, consegnate nel testo intitolato *Bibo, dalle paludi ai cementi. Una storia esemplare*. Questo libro-monografia segue due precedenti etnografie (dedicate anch'esse a zone umide del nord Italia e ai conflitti che in esse o a causa di esse insorgono o che le vedono coinvolte) dedicate allo studio dei rapporti uomo/ambiente e del loro evolversi. Il *fieldwork* raccontato in *BIBO* ha un focus nel nordest italiano ma anche ramificazioni nella storia italiana; racconta di un conflitto durato oltre vent'anni riguardante la costruzione di un'autostrada su una zona umida, ma si spinge ad indagare anche la storia antica dei contadini e l'avvento dell'industrializzazione; racconta in prima persona i fatti accaduti secondo una storia non cronologica quanto piuttosto centrata sul vissuto emozionale dell'etnografa coinvolta e impegnata in prima persona nella lotta degli ambientalisti contro l'autostrada.

L'esperienza etnografica sembra essere stata una continua coniugazione di aspetti opposti e giustapposti: contiene motivi tra i più tradizionali della storia antropologica tanto quanto aspetti sperimentali, anticonvenzionali ed eccentrici; esaspera il contenuto della soggettività e allo stesso tempo lo inserisce in dinamiche culturali contemporanee ampie; sperimenta una storia marginale di luoghi marginali (né esotici né parte della tradizione antropologica) con una scrittura postmoderna adatta forse a storie postcoloniali e urbane; partecipa a un movimento collettivo di ambientalisti ma si ritrova sola a rendere conto di ciò che è successo e a tentare di restituire la corallità degli avvenimenti. Sembra dunque giunto il momento per riflettere su questa costruzione etnografica e sugli esiti ottenuti.

Ad una prima analisi, tra gli aspetti più tradizionali posso annoverare le caratteristiche del terreno (un piccolissimo villaggio – addirittura un borgo), l'uso della lingua locale ben conosciuta (un dialetto trevigiano classificato come trevigiano sinistra Piave), una lunghissima permanenza sul campo.

Tra gli aspetti sperimentali possono invece rientrare la predominanza di tratti autobiografici, l'identificazione del campo con il luogo di nascita, l'identità perfetta tra lingua locale e lingua madre, etnografia e attivismo condotti contemporaneamente, la collaborazione con poeti e scrittori sia nella stesura del testo che nelle azioni di attivismo, l'esplicita intenzione di rivestire un ruolo critico e di denuncia sociale da parte dell'etnografa stessa.

Il campo è stato quindi caratterizzato da un altissimo coinvolgimento emotivo dell'etnografa, da una conoscenza *intima* di alcuni aspetti del campo (dalle biografie delle persone ai luoghi), da una sperimentazione della perdizione e dell'etnografia retrospettiva *ante-litteram*, poiché se è vero che è in questo metodo che mi sono "riconosciuta", è anche vero che lo avevo autonomamente sperimentato ben prima della sua codificazione.

I risultati sono stati, come l'esperienza stessa, multivalenti: alcuni ricordano la fase classica

dell'antropologia, altri possono essere riconosciuti come risultati “nuovi”, sperimentazioni sulle quali interrogarsi e confrontarsi. Tra di essi posso sicuramente annoverare come risultati nuovi:

- la produzione e l'uso di fonti alterative (i sogni, le emozioni)
- una etnografia degli ambientalisti (in questo caso attivisti soprattutto –ma non solo- del WWF) che paiono essere assai raramente indagati antropologicamente
- esplorazione di territori/gruppi sociali poco indagati: i profughi ambientali non esotici, la storia intima dei contadini, le condizioni degli espropriati nella costruzione delle grandi opere italiane
- l'esplicitazione/ostentazione del ruolo politico-civile dell'etnografo nel contesto analizzato (teso alla salvaguardia di aspetti naturali del paesaggio).

Classificherei come risultati “classici” la conservazione della memoria degli avvenimenti sociali indagati, l'analisi delle istituzioni coinvolte, la descrizione della storia di una regione e di un conflitto, la produzione di fonti e dati *quantitativi* su un paesaggio umido misconosciuto.

Restano aperti problemi particolari, che già un'ampia parte della comunità accademica sta esplorando, e che si potrebbero riassumere da una parte nel concetto di *Engaged Anthropology*, o anche nelle espressioni di “problemi delle etnografie dei movimenti” (che riflettono in particolare sulle problematiche connesse al grado di attivismo dell'etnografo e il suo rapporto con l'analisi; sulla sperimentazione letteraria della scrittura etnografica e il suo rapporto con i risultati dell'impegno civile; sugli esiti biografici di attivismi che sono invece spesso corali), dall'altra nelle indagini di Milton Kay sugli attivismi ambientali sapientemente riassunti nel titolo-concetto *Loving Nature* (indagini antropologiche che riflettono sulla costruzione sociale e culturale delle persone che si dedicano nella vita all'attivismo per la tutela della natura).

Rhapsodic ethnography? Implications and risks of a transnational ethnographic approach in the field of migration studies

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This paper aims to open a debate about the meaning, implications and potential risks in relation to carry out a research in the field of migration processes through a transnational ethnographic methodology. To do this we rely on the experience of the studies we have conducted over the past 10 years with Ecuadorian migrants, adults and children, in Italy and Spain (Lagomarsino, 2005, 2006, 2010; Martín Díaz Benítez Martínez, Castellani Cuberos and Gallardo, 2012).

A discussion with an emphasis on the transnational methodology must take into account the anthropological lively debate that began with the famous text by Marcus (1995), in which the American scholar advancing the methodological proposal of multi-sited ethnography. According to Marcus, it is necessary to move away from the traditional idea that there are isolated communities, such as autonomous universes, in which the ethnographer lives with the natives to disclose how this society works. On the contrary, Markus underlines, the ethnographer has to pay attention to the chains, conjunctions and juxtapositions which connect the different locations in which the ethnographer must be present and whose pairing and connection defines the focus of ethnography. By the mid- '70s the relational-situationist approach, inaugurated by Barth (1976), had shown the weakness of the communitarian model. Nevertheless, it was the growing interdependence between different places on the planet y, largely due to the gradual expansion of information technologies (Castells, 1998), which in late modernity definitively revealed the analytical inconsistency of the traditional ethnographic approach.

One of the cornerstones of the transnational approach is the attempt of overcoming the "methodological nationalism", i.e. the definition of the nation-state (departure or arrival depending on emigration or immigration) as *a priori* framework for the analysis. This communication try to put emphasis on this aspect of the transnationalist approach, rather than on the theoretical aspects which nowadays still cross the field of transnationalism (Bauböck & Faist, 2010; Nagel, 2001). Indeed, we believe it is the methodology which really distinguishes what is a transnational study. In

recent years, many researches in the field of migration processes which are defined as "transnational" were flourished in Italy. However, transnational is often used as a synonym for international and unbound from a specific methodological approach. In this manner, many studies are defined as transnational, though in the definition of the unit of observation and analysis, only focus on the country of destination. Specifically, some studies, which are defined as "transnational", advance analysis on the country of origin of migrants, start only from the point of view of those who live in the country of destination. Similarly, they often leave out all the literature produced in the countries of origin. This kind of methodological approach runs a double risk: the first one is to look at the object of study with a "colonial gaze" (Mezzadra, 2008; Sayad, 2002), and the second one is to meet a methodological fallacy juxtaposing the emic and the etic.

After many years of fieldwork experience we have strengthened the conviction that it is difficult to study migration processes in-depth without carry out a part of the field work in the countries/localities of origin of migrants. In other words, taking into account the limitations (cost, time, etc.) of each research project, it is necessary that the researcher moves physically, for a certain period of time, in the countries of origin in order to know the reality of the place (Mazzucato, 2008) and to pick up on the one hand the material elements (remittances, participation in political parties, associations, etc...) (Portes et al, 1999; Boccagni and Lagomarsino, 2011) and, on the other hands, the symbolic ones (Appadurai, 1996). Crucial is also registering the opinion of those who never migrated but are involved in the migration project.

This kind of study has to do with the definition of ethnographic field work that, above all, takes time. For this reason we believe that we cannot define "transnational fieldwork" a *rhapsodic* or rather *touristic* fieldwork where the researcher remains for most of the time in the destination country and pass only a couple of weeks in the places of origin of the migrants.

Only an in-depth social analysis carried out both in the place of departure as of arrival of migrants can avoid the risk of little scientific rigor critics which sometimes has moved to the multi-sited ethnography (Gallo, 2009); otherwise the "methodological nationalism" is likely to replace an equally fallacious "methodological globalism" (Jiménez Zunino, 2010). A transnational study should therefore seek to study the dynamics of migration in varied contexts in which they are shaped and articulated, without sacrificing in-depth analysis of these contexts and without falling into "cosmopolitan" drifts that de- problematize the local dimension. This allows you to emphasize the multiple connections between different field works rather than the multiple contexts, keeping in mind that a multi-sited field work is something very different from a field work in multiple locations or countries (Robben and Sluka, 2012).

In this paper, we show how in our research we have tried to put into practice a transnational methodology that takes into account these assumptions. We will focus not only the strengths of this approach but also the difficulties that you may encounter using it; we will also emphasize the different strategies that we have adopted in the field taking into account the variables of gender, social class and age. Finally, we will show how the use of techniques such as audio-visual recording can complement the traditional ethnographic techniques such as participant observation or in-depth interview.

Commuter ethnography and social proximity. Reflections on fieldwork in Turin

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In this paper I would like to reflect upon some theoretical and methodological issues, deriving from a collaborative project of urban ethnography in Turin (Italy). My intent is, above all, to talk about the possibilities of an ethnography of the neoliberal predicament, and at the same time, about the problems coming from the field and the object of study. In the second part of the paper I will then linger on the dialectic of proximity and estrangement, which is distinctive of every ethnographic experience, but takes a particular meaning within urban anthropology at home.

The project I refer to consists of an ethnographic research, conducted by our little team in a neighbourhood lying in the periphery of Turin. The neighbourhood, whose name is Mirafiori, is famous for being the site of the homonymous car factory. At the centre of our research lie, indeed, the complex relations between families and social network, on the one side, and the social reality of work and consumption, on the other; in particular, we aim to investigate the eventual spreading among the common people of neoliberal ideological discourse in a time of economic crises as well as the possible development/emergence of new forms of subjectivities.

For our research we chose a qualitative, dialogical and biographic approach, centred on people, but not based on a full immersion, because of the proximity of the field. Instead, we opted for a deep and long interaction with a certain number of inhabitants of the area. In other words, we chose a “commuter ethnography” (to use Aihwa Ong’s words), consisting of frequent visits and open interviews. We found one source of inspiration in the “sociologie au magnetophone” practiced by Pierre Bourdieu and his research team to produce *La Misère du Monde*, because we are sure of its potentialities, although still conscious of its inherent risks.

In any case, for the analysis of neo-liberalism, any kind of ethnography is urgent and necessary. Theoretical reflections on neo-liberalism and post-fordism tend, in fact, to imply a direct, univocal, relationship between economic transformations, social, and cultural formations, and forms of subjectivity. Anyway, only fieldwork and dialogic encounter can show which forms neo-liberalism assumes at a local level, how it is actually lived, and which are the emergent forms of subjectivities (if any...). The works by Michael Burawoy and Aihwa Ong, and the methodological reflections by George Marcus, offer us some precious suggestions towards a new, flexible and holistic ethnography, as a mean to investigate global ethnoscares. In the paper I try to describe and discuss these suggestions to imagine how to build new ethnographic objects and new questions for more and more complex and fluid social worlds. Above all, I will try to link this discussion with our research experience, tracing the possibilities as well as the problems that may arise in a context like Mirafiori.

This neighbourhood, at the extreme periphery of the city, marked by the physical presence of the once largest Fordist factory in Europe now largely dismissed, is probably one of the most useful places to observe the economic transformation and its impact on local social life. Mirafiori is by definition the factory zone, a working-class area dramatically experiencing the contemporary passage to the fragmentation of work and its identities, as well as the recent economic crises. Statistics cannot really explain how economic insecurity and social marginality are actually experienced. Only ethnography, only fieldwork can. Nevertheless, I want to stress that I think the strength of ethnography doesn’t depend only on its evocative force, but on the dialectic between description and analysis.

Description and analysis of neoliberal transformation can only begin from the question of social class, whose influence is reflected in ethnographic relationships in the form of the relative proximity and distance between anthropologists and subjects. Commuter ethnography is founded on the affinity between observers and participants, on our sharing of a social space with our informants. Indeed, ethnographers working on their own society tend to take for granted social and cultural affinity with the observed. And yet, by focusing only on shared identity, we risk undervaluing a series of distances, class fractures and differences in cultural, symbolic, and social capital; differences that don’t allow the ethnographer to easily identify himself with the social world he studies. The social reality of Turin, like that of any complex urban scenario, implies social boundaries complicating the ethnographic relation while, at the same time, rendering it fascinating and necessary. To reflect on urban ethnography means to reflect on these boundaries, that post-Fordism has made more fluid, maybe, but not cancelled.

"¿Qué quieres, quién eres?" Some considerations on the entering the field

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The distinction that I propose between "acceptance" and "rejection" must be clearly considered methodologically and not ontologically, for the fact that between the two concepts unfolds a wide range of "acceptance", misunderstandings, rejections, solved problems. Entering the field, on the other hand, is never a neutral experience without political, cultural or economical implications, as well as identities in confrontation. And particularly in a context such as the Latin American, where phenotypic marker, class membership, and social identity still persist today as significant signs of a past that, from many points of view, is not divisible from the present (Quijano, 1992, 2000, Mignolo, 2009). Obviously, this is not a constant. As we shall see later, this type of separations not only tend to fade, but may vanish almost completely in some areas such as family or friends, bringing back identity to its dimension of historically situated construction, and not of ontological essence *a priori* (Amselle, 1990, Stolcke, 2008, Hall, 2010).

My research is located in the Southern Andes, specifically in the *departamento* of Puno, Peru, on the border with the Plurinational State of Bolivia. I deal mainly with ethnical and social identities, as well as the role of the Peruvian nation-state in the interactions with those men and women who identify themselves as Aymara. According to the last official census available, Peruvian Aymaras would be about 500,000 people, who live in the departments of Puno (the majority), Tacna, Moquegua, Arequipa and Lima; depending on the context, the main economic activities are agropastoral, i.e. in the *comunidades* of the south Puno's rural zones, but also commercial, especially in urban areas. However, individuals who define themselves as Aymara occupy important positions in the local and regional administration, and to a lesser extent, in the national (Alanoca, 2012) one, such as in Universities, i.e. the *Universidad Nacional del Altiplano*.

In this complex context, I propose to analyze the first part of my ethnographic experience in Peru, six months – to be followed by a further six – in which the activity of research itself is not absolutely divisible from the subjective lived experience, but rather strongly compenetrated.

On the one hand, by the term acceptance I mean the complex of relations that has been established between me and the Aymara family who "adopted" me, but also with many people, not only Aymara. I want to clarify that the adoption as "political relative" is due, in large measure, because of a tragic event happened a couple of years ago. José, the eldest son of my Aymara "parents", Vicente and Celedonia, died in an accident not far from his home in Ancasaya. This loss, together with my age being slightly older than that of José, as well as the fact that I – as Vicente – am an anthropologist too, was one of the most important variables – at least for Vicente – of our proximity. In any case, reflecting the importance of networks of relationships in position on the field, my presence in Vicente's and Celedonia's *comunidad* has never been a problem, despite my phenotype being unquestionably *gringo*. In effect, the transition from *gringo* to *Dominico* was not immediate, nor did it require a long period because, thanks to Vicente and Celedonia, people knew who I was and what I wanted. Also, my commitment in *jaqi aru*, the Aymara language, has been a source of interest and curiosity, precisely for the fact that a *gringuito* understood and expressed – albeit with very evident limits – in Aymara. I distinguish between *comunidad* and town because, despite the continuities between the former and the latter, there exist historical and social differences. If I insist on the "ethnic" difference between me and the Aymara it is because the charge that it holds is an important pattern of identity; on the other hand, the *blanco*, the *mestizo* are figures that are represented – and, in a sense, continue to represent – the exploitation, the colonization, the inferiorization, the "enemy". In the urban areas, especially in Puno, despite the enormous presence of people who come from rural areas, are inhabited by individuals with very different physical characteristics, in addition to a strong presence of foreign tourists, above all in the colonial downtown. For this reason, my "alterity" did not expect too many explanations. My friends in Puno, university students and local intellectuals, despite their proximity with the rural zones – both Aymara or Quechua – did not ask to me *¿qué quieres, quién eres?*, at least not in terms of *comunidades* when people did not know me.

On the other hand, by the term "rejection" I refer in particular to an episode that occurred at the end of September in Kelluyo, a small centre in the Chucuito province, in the extreme South of the department of Puno, about an hour by *combi* from Desaguadero, at the border with Bolivia. I was there with a friend of mine, for an event organized by the local association of UMA (Unión de Mujeres Aymaras, Union of Aymara Women), in which my friend – an anthropologist who comes from a *comunidad* at the border between the provinces of Ilave and Juli – had to intervene. The zone is interested in the problem of foreign minings, especially Huacullani, not too far from Kelluyo, where the Minería Santa Ana is. Kelluyo is a quite isolated area and a "gringo" won't be unobserved. Before the event had started – I was with a friend and two other people, all of them Aymara but not from the area – a group of women came to us asking in a violent way “what do you want? who are you?”, accusing me of being sent by the mining industry. My friend tried to calm them down, speaking in Aymara and telling them who I was. But that was not enough, and they started to accuse him because he was supporting me. I was asked to show my identification card, the *teniente gobernador*, visibly drunk, approved its validity – I had with me a letter from the Universidad Nacional del Altiplano – and they took a picture of all the documents. We were ordered to leave, but my friend still had to present his dissertation, once he finished we went back to Desaguadero, from where we got back to Puno.

From these two “extreme” episodes, I will try to think about the implications the phenotypic diversity brings in particular fieldwork contexts, concentrating on the historic dynamics and on the spaces than can be opened or closed during the fieldwork.

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WHY ETHNOGRAPHY TODAY? II

Friday 6th 9.00-12.00 – 2 P

“*In vivo*” method in sociology. Ethnography in the 21st Century

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In sociology we have a variety of tools grouped in two main categories: quantitative and qualitative methods. Such a binary division has shaped for decades the majority of studies and has been usually seen as an opposite approach (with a rare exception of the first decades of works by Chicago School sociologists, where they successfully practiced both types of methodology). We can assume that quantitative researches have dominated sociology in the 20th century by the number of scientists working with and the number of publications based on those methods. Today it is more common to combine both types of methodologies. After years of domination of the quantitative data based surveys, the knowledge produced in that way, in several cases seemed to be far from the reality of daily life or ordinary experiences of people (Giza 2013; Sulek, 2008). Sociologists started perceiving the necessity to “meet real people” and to check their research results upon immersion in studied sittings, in real situations. The method, which gives us the possibility of such immersion, is ethnography.

This kind of methodological development or even methodological shift occurs as a result of the necessity for breaking the spiral of the production of knowledge detached from the “processes present in real life”, which are observable also in other domains of science. In life-science for years microbiologists have been using a very popular *in vitro* method and have been producing knowledge, which could not be confirmed years later with the same *in vivo* approach. In the second half of the 20th century the *in vitro* method was very fashionable. Researchers produced artificially and studied in the laboratory several processes fabricated artificially by them. Observed processes were controlled and several publications were born based on such approach. However, the next step was to test the knowledge produced with the *in vitro* method on the living organism and there, an important part of the knowledge based on *in vitro* approach appeared to be a simple artefact: an effect of the laboratory manipulation, an artificial result of researcher’s manipulation. Biologists had to verify (and today that is the standard) results produced by *in vitro* with the *in vivo* experiences in order to prove that observed processes were “real” and not “artefacts”.

We can compare the ethnography with the observation of the *in vivo* approaches in life-sciences. In both cases scientists work observing processes, which occur in real organisms (work is done in a laboratory space, but concerns phenomena which occur in real organisms). In sociology - this is the matter of a real, face-to-face meeting with our participant of the given research. These encounters should not take place via internet, desk research, and survey questions asked by a pollster but directly - in the human to human daily interactions, usually in the space, which is familiar to participants - in their “natural sittings”. Since years we can observe among sociologists a situation similar to the biology field. The criticism toward the quantitative method as a unique research approach has been growing and today it is more common to employ both approaches than only one – quantitative.

The choice of the methodology influences not only daily practices of scientists but also their careers. From the perspective of time consuming we have important difference in the personal investment of the researcher and the time necessary to spent for the realization of the data collection process. *In vivo* methods require usually longer span of time than *in vitro* (for example one set of experiences could take several months or some years). In the sociology ethnography can be ranked among the most time consuming research methods. The history of sociology provide examples of long involvement in the research (White, 1943, Duneier, 1999). Both methods (*in vivo* in biology, ethnography in sociology) seem to be closer to the “real life” and thanks to that proximity are less exposed to the artefacts, but on the other hand their productions require more time. What kind of impact may this long *durée* engagement have on the career of researchers?

Conducting an ethnographical research today requires in some areas of the world the spirit of resistance. This is a sort of nonconformist attitude, which presupposes to the present expectations and career designs produced by contemporary scientific environment. The quantification of our scientific production gives small room for long-lasting studies and strong field-involvement. But this particular investment is beneficial if we take the *long durée* perspective. Career of sociologist (as another scientists) is not simply the record of publications (based on the logic that quantity reflects quality). The longevity of publications is, in my opinion one of the most important characteristic which determine the career of sociologists. And using this temporary factor in the analysis of the career of sociologists we can see that ethnography has huge potential. An exceptional longevity and extraordinary power of intellectual inspiration characterizes ethnographical accounts: 100 years after the 1st publication of Chicago Tradition (Chapoulie, 2001) monographs are still being read today by succeeding generations of sociologists. That phenomenon of the *long durée* of works (comparing to other texts based only on statistical analysis) brings also the reflection about the specific resistance of our method to the race for novelty and fast success or the opposition to the fancy scientific fashions.

‘Where can ethnography take us? From accessing lived experience to the construction of a humanitarian pedagogy of empowerment’

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The paper provides some reflection on ethnography based on a reconsideration of my fieldwork experience in Sabah, Malaysian Borneo (see Barlocco, 2013) on the basis of Denzin’s (1997, 2003, 2009; Giardina and Denzin, 2011) call for ethnography to become a form of ‘civic or public journalism’. While I considered my ethnography, which was based on Piasere’s (2002) ‘vivere-con’ methodology, successful, as it reached a deep level of ‘impregnation’ or ‘resonance’ (Wikan, 1992) with the lived experience of the host culture, I started interrogating myself on how useful such a result could be for the community studied and for humanity. My answer was that through my research I had added something to the understanding of collective identities, at the same time showing their artificial and historical origin and their connection to lived experience. However, the sharing of Piasere’s conclusion, that the more perfect an ethnographer becomes the less he/she is able to talk about the people studied, kept me asking what use for others than him/herself would a perfect ethnographer be, or, for that matter, an imperfect one, able to write about the lived experience he/she has shared and absorbed.

In order to find questions to these answers I looked at Denzin’s (1997, 2003, 2009) responses to the epistemological, political and moral questions posed by ethnography and by its legitimation and representation crisis. On the one hand, I share Denzin’s problematisation of conventional ethnography’s founding in a positivist or neo-positivist paradigm, posing the existence of a truth that can be accessed, echoing Feyerabend’s (1975) epistemological call for theoretical anarchism and epistemological relativism. On the other, I consider Denzin’s rejection of ethnography’s aim to describe and understand lived experience not convincing, as I do not see why accounts based on lived experience should necessarily ‘reproduce normative conceptions of self, agency, gender, desire, and sexuality’ (1997: 283-4).

However, the problem remains of what to do with an access to people’s lived experience, however reached. In answer to that question, I believe it necessary to separate the Siamese twins anthropology, the study of human beings’ ways of life *and history*, and ethnography, an approach to the generation of knowledge about people. While the epistemological and moral status and agenda of the former are yet to be determined and beyond the scope of this paper, the latter, in my view, needs to take seriously the issues considered by Denzin (1997). Therefore, partly in disagreement with him, I argue for a renovated grounding on ethnography in accessing people’s lived experience as a solution to the crisis of representation, but join his call for a ‘civil or publicly responsible’ ethnography as a solution to the crisis of legitimation. That of the ethnographer acting as a ‘civic or

public journalist' brought forward by Denzin (1997: 282) appears as one of the possible ways to go, but other appear as legitimate as long as ethnography can be an instrument of empowerment for both the people it is written about and the readers. In doing so, ethnography can be used as a very powerful form of what Freire (1971 [1968]) called 'pedagogy of the oppressed', producing awareness of problems and forms of oppression experienced by individuals and groups. Within this logic, access to lived experience seems to make it particularly effective as a way to produce self-reflection, a reflection that is also in line with the view of anthropologists such as Wikan.

In conclusion, I call for an ethnography that does not limit itself to the description of lived experience, but uses it for moral and political purposes, while not betraying its essence. While it can use various methods, including some coming from journalism, crossing the distance between conventional and emerging forms of ethnography, it cannot limit itself to acting as a watchdog, but needs to harness its impregnation with all the elements of lived experience in order to provide a deeper level of awareness of issues and a called for a shared humanitarian ethics.

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Oltre l'osservazione, l'etnografia in contesto applicato

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Questa proposta si colloca all'interno di una riflessione più ampia, che sto ultimando nell'ambito della mia tesi ricerca di dottorato, sull'applicazione dell'antropologia e la sua dimensione pubblica. L'antropologo è tradizionalmente una figura strettamente legata all'accademia, questo spinge Eriksen (2006) ad affermare che la stessa percezione di questa figura sia legata ai formalismi polverosi di una certa antropologia britannica che ha reso celebre la disciplina. Una lunga tradizione ha portato nomi illustri a considerare che, se l'antropologia è ciò che gli antropologi fanno, allora la si può senz'altro intendere come una scrittura – densa, per giunta, secondo Clifford Geertz (1987). L'etnografia sarebbe il livello base dell'antropologia, il suo metodo per eccellenza; il nome stesso trae origine da popolo (*ethnos*) e scrivo (*grapho*), ma descrivere l'attività dell'antropologo come una forma di scrittura mi è sempre sembrato, per lo meno, riduttivo. In particolar modo quando l'intera tradizione dell'antropologia applicata (una lunga tradizione visto che la Society for Applied Anthropology americana viene fondata nel 1941) è stata a lungo accusata, e spesso lo è tuttora, di scrivere molto poco, di non produrre teoria e di essere, in definitiva, un'antropologia di serie b. In realtà ciò che fa l'antropologo sul campo è estremamente più complesso ed il grado di implicazione (Althabe e Hernandez 2004) che sviluppa con il proprio terreno di ricerca sembra essere qualcosa di molto diverso da una forma di lettura. L'antropologo non raccoglie dati ma collabora attivamente alla loro produzione assieme ai propri interlocutori. L'antropologo applicato spesso non scrive, perché questo non è l'obiettivo della sua ricerca (Baba 1994) o lo fa rivolgendosi ad altre discipline (van Willigen 2002) o attraverso forme che non sono quelle che comunemente vengono chiamate "etnografie" (Kedia 2008). Allora la pratica dell'etnografia risulta essere qualcosa di più complesso e difficilmente definibile; a lungo si è parlato di *induzione* in merito ma, Agar, sottolinea correttamente che non è così (1996). Ci spiega, piuttosto, che sarebbe meglio parlare di *abduzione*: "If a piece of research doesn't produce new concepts, concepts that take you closer to the world that is the object of research than previous understandings could have, then it isn't ethnographic. No

abduction, no ethnographic” (Agar 1996, p. 40). Olivier de Sardan (1995) nota che c’è un livello della conoscenza raccolta dal ricercatore sul campo che va ben oltre i dati quantificabili e che è piuttosto simile a una forma di *impregnazione*, in cui il cervello assorbe informazioni come una scatola nera. Ma l’azione sul campo risulta essere ancora più complessa, sfumata (*fuzzy*), strettamente interconnessa con la nostra dimensione cognitiva, come ci ricorda Piasere (2002) attraverso il concetto di *perduzione*.

L’idea stessa che l’antropologo sia un solitario raccoglitore di dati è frutto della fascinazione, eletta a paradigma, dell’esperienza malinowskiana (1973). Per decenni i resoconti, ricchissimi di dettagli, dell’antropologo polacco hanno costituito il canone della disciplina e la sua avventura sul campo si è tramutata nel mito sulla base del quale articolare il “rito di iniziazione” alla disciplina di centinaia di antropologi (Barley 2008). Questo ha reso più complicato ammettere che l’etnografia non è mai un’operazione individuale perché riguarda un rapporto tra persone e che l’antropologo non è mai solo. E forse è un bene che l’antropologo possa avvalersi di collaboratori, che siano altri antropologi o esperti provenienti da altri campi disciplinari, come ci avevano già insegnato i pionieri che raggiunsero lo stretto di Torres qualche anno prima che Malinowski si recasse alle Trobriand (Stocking 1995). La prospettiva collaborativa è rimasta una tendenza minoritaria che ha attraversato 150 anni di ricerca, dalla sfrontatezza di Griaule (l’antropologo come segugio sociale) e la sua équipe (Griaule 1957) fino alle prime definizioni metodologiche di un’antropologia votata al cambiamento (si veda ad esempio Chambers 1997 e Schensul e Schensul 1992), anche se generalmente contestata o presa in scarsa considerazione.

Alla luce di questa storia credo sia arrivato il momento in Italia (e in Europa) di tentare il percorso in atto da diversi decenni negli USA per il riconoscimento di una antropologia che mette le proprie competenze al servizio della società in una prospettiva applicata. Affronterò la questione attraverso la mia esperienza di 17 mesi all’interno di una struttura di reinserimento per ex tossicodipendenti dove la pratica dell’etnografia è stata declinata nella collaborazione con un’équipe di educatori. La mia presenza tra gli utenti della struttura non aveva lo scopo di raccogliere dati o informazioni da trasporre in una monografia ma piuttosto utilizzare la sensibilità particolare che, in modo così difficoltoso, racchiudiamo nella categoria di etnografia per cogliere ciò che agli educatori non risultava immediatamente evidente. L’etnografia costituiva quindi una risorsa in più a disposizione da sviluppare nel rapporto tra operatori e utenti in modo da cogliere e affrontare problemi nell’interesse di tutti. Se, dapprima, la mia figura aveva la forma di un intermediario che raccoglie dati per l’équipe, lentamente è emerso l’aspetto critico che ha portato a una riflessione sulle pratiche messe in atto nell’ambito del rapporto educativo. Totalmente altra rispetto a una forma di osservazione, questa esperienza comportava azioni e interazioni concrete dove il ricercatore deve necessariamente assumere i ruoli che gli vengono attribuiti sul campo (Fava 2011) e deve farne tesoro perché costituiscono possibilità d’accesso impensate a prospettive inedite e proficue (Favret-Saada 1977). La conoscenza passa in questo modo attraverso la pratica andando a costituire una vera e propria teoria della prassi “that transcend the old distinction between ‘pure’ and ‘applied’ anthropology” (Baba 2009, 384). Questo approccio si inserisce in modo organico nell’appello lanciato di recente da Setha Low e Sally Engle Merry per un’etnografia che non può rinunciare a fare i conti con la questione dell’engagement e della responsabilità che la ricerca, a così stretto contatto con interlocutori viventi e imbrigliati in dinamiche di potere, si porta appresso (Low e Merry 2010).

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Shadowing Experiments as a Means to Investigate Everyday Life **Dave Poitras, Université de Montréal, dave.poitras@umontreal.ca**

My PhD project investigates the experienced meanings of nationhood as lived in the working environments of the bi-ethnic contexts milieus of Montreal and Brussels. By exploring the enactments of individuals in their daily practices and expressions, I aim at understanding how the categories of nationhood are used and understood in the quotidian settings and social interactions of working environments. The cases of Montreal and Brussels, as a point of comparison in the inquiry, will shed light on the dynamics of different sociopolitical contexts and their impact on the lived experienced meanings of everyday nationhood. This I argue, will allow me to deepen our knowledge on how nationhood is (re)produced on a daily basis, but also identify what exactly is (re)produced, which will lead me to understand the contemporary lived salience of the nation in contested sociopolitical contexts.

To conduct such a research requires an original ethnographic approach. This paper focuses on the methodology and the strategy behind this empirical endeavour. If shadowing as an empirical data gathering technique is mainly used in the field of the sociology of organizations and institutional ethnography to understand what individuals do in their working environment, and not what their roles dictates of them, I argue that it can also be a useful method to investigate the lived experienced meanings of everyday life — and this, in a different way than a classic approach to ethnography would. In this specific communication, I support and illustrate this standpoint by using segments stemming from my current fieldwork.

First, I review what is shadowing as an ethnographic tool, and how it differs from other ethnographic approaches by briefly introducing the (almost inexistent) writings on the matter. Instead of investigating a specific environment, the shadower, in the writings concerning this method, focuses on one individual at a time throughout his whole day in order to understand his actual functions and accomplishments in an organization. This in-depth approach, as argued, allows the researcher to gather significant information concerning the salience and functions of different roles a person bears within an organization.

Second, I focus on my approach to the fieldwork and on the way I use shadowing experiments to get a grasp on the lived experienced meanings of nationhood in the everyday life of individuals — mainly in working environments. If I am not as much interested in the role of my participants within their working environment, the shadowing experiments I conduct, nevertheless, allow me to have an in-depth access to the life-world of different individuals, one at a time, within environments that are often not so easily accessible. Through asking questions, listening, and observing, I actively explore my informants' stream of daily experiences and practices as they move through, and interact with

their environment. While shadowing people, I focus on how nationhood is used as a category of analysis, a method brought up by individuals to explain, understand and make sense of diverse contexts encountered in quotidian routines. Rather than second hand information such as gathered with interviews, shadowing allows obtaining extensive first hand information on everyday life as they are happening in lived environments. This strategy, as I argue, allows identifying the situations wherein nationhood is likely to be triggered and/or happening, and conveys a first attempt to understand how nationhood works in specific everyday life settings and social relations and the value relation of individuals towards nationhood.

Third, I critically explore the epistemology of the shadowing experiment method, the type of data it allows to collect and construct, and the analysis that can be expected from such an endeavour, and this, by focusing on the interpretation of my fieldwork. If my research agenda differs from the traditional object of other studies using shadowing as a data gathering technique, it does not betray the nature of the strategy; I argue, moreover, that it widens the type of objects shadowing experiments can investigate. By focusing on one individual throughout his whole day, within his different environments, interactions, settings, in his routines and banal activities, and at the same time being able to have a grasp on his aspirations, beliefs and assessments, shadowing experiments has proven to be a rich method on the investigation of everyday life matters; so rich that it becomes its main disadvantage. If gathering and analyzing the extensive data collected demands a tremendous amount of time, the complex portrait of an individual and his experienced meaning towards a specific object in lived environments is, I argue, as exhaustive and in-depth as it can be. In order to exploit as much as possible the empirical information, I suggest that building ideal types of situations (or individuals) is the most effective and meaningful way to analyse and construct the information gathered. As an illustration, I briefly present an analysis I am currently working on, based on a typology of the dynamics of nationhood in the working environment of Montreal and Brussels. I have identified so far three distinctive types of situations wherein nationhood is associated to a specific dynamic: there are situations (1) operating upon nationhood, (2) with nationhood, but also (3) situations operated by nationhood.

This method of the shadowing experiment inscribed in a cognitive approach of the sociology of nation and nationalism represents a (uncommon) way of practicing ethnography, and widens the research agenda and the objects of studies using an ethnographic approach. The exploration of the everyday life-world of an individual and his environment, the heart of an empirical investigation where shadowing experiments are used as a data gathering strategy, allows the researcher to have the most in-depth approach concerning the relation value a person can have towards an object in his lived environment; in the case of my research, towards nationhood and ethnicity.

Community psychologists turning themselves into ethnographers. A focused ethnography in a participatory research

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Community psychology uses a wide range of participatory research methods, such as Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) and Participatory Action Research (PAR), to address the needs of marginalized communities and prevent health problems, promoting more control of communities over those conditions that affect their lives.

The use of qualitative methods is common among community psychologists because such methods are more feasible to promote people's participation. However, ethnography is rarely mentioned even when ethnographic-like studies are put in place. The method of the *Anthropologic community profile* (Martini & Torti, 2003) of a local community, for example, could be significantly improved if integrated with ethnographic methods.

The discipline of Community psychology itself could strongly benefit from a contamination of such

methods because how an external researcher or community organizer enters a local community has clear similarities with how an ethnographer enters the field (e.g., gatekeepers mediation), and scholars from the two disciplines debate on similar topics: for example, the role of collaboration in the research process and the issue of power (Lassiter, 2004; Prilleltensky, 2008).

In this presentation we describe the ethnographic component of a larger multiphase *mixed methods* participatory research conducted in the *Ticinese* neighborhood in the city of Milan, offering an example of how ethnography can inform community research.

The Ticinese is a one square kilometer neighborhood that comprises 8.000 inhabitants and it is one of the major nightlife areas in the city with about 40 alcohol outlets (mostly on and off-premise street bars). Especially in spring and summer, thousands of young people gather into the neighborhood and spend the night drinking in venues or in the streets. Throughout the years, harsh conflicts have taken place among residents, nightlife managers, and nightlife goers while the municipality has been unable to manage the situation so far. There is also a growing concern for the health consequences of young people's drinking behavior.

The main objectives of the overall research was to perform a community needs/assets assessment and mobilize community members to take actions about the issue, but we were also interested in getting a better understanding of youths' nightlife activities in the area. We aimed to investigate nightlife goers' meanings, patterns of behavior, rituals and habits (Barnao, 2008) in order to develop congruent interventions.

Therefore, the basic structure of Martini and Torti's (2003) *Social Reconnaissance* has been integrated with an ethnographic study on young nightlife goers. Community psychologists turned themselves into ethnographers.

We chose *Focused Ethnography* (Knoblauch, 2005) as a guiding method of the ethnographic component because it seemed to best suit our needs in collecting multiple data, both conventional (e.g., interviews, field notes) and audiovisual, on a very specific phenomenon that exists only at a certain time of the day and period of the year (at night in summer and spring), such as nightlife.

Specifically we performed:

- *Non-participant observation* in which researchers immersed themselves into the environment in different days of the week and the weekend from 7pm to up to 4am. Researchers observed the environment (e.g., crowding), nightlife goers appearance, their visible interactions and behaviors, and changes throughout the night collecting video and photographic material. Field notes were written after each observation session.
- *18 in-depth interviews* to frequent Ticinese nightlife goers (10 males and 8 females, mean age 23,4) recruited through direct on-field contact and snowball sampling. In the interviews participants were asked to describe themselves and their nightlife habits in general, and then specifically their reasons to go to the Ticinese and their usual behavior in that environment.
- *Participant observation* was conducted when some nightlife goers interviewed gave consent to the researchers to be joined during one of their night out in the Ticinese. Researchers spent a total of 10 hours with two different groups from 9pm to 2am observing young peoples' behavior and having brief conversations with some of them. Video and photographic material was collected when participants gave consent. Field notes were written after each observation session.

The most relevant results of this ethnographic research were that within the Ticinese nightlife district, roughly three sub-areas have specific features (i.e., in a square youths sits on the pavement and drink alcohol brought from home) and different levels of alcohol-related risks. Via Vetere, a street with bars on both sides has been identified as high risk because of nightlife goers' younger age, heavy promotion of high-volume alcohol consumption by bars, illegal alcohol sale and drug dealing. In the rest of the neighborhood, alcohol consumption is more moderate and refers to "social drinking".

Results were then shared and discussed with community stakeholders and residents promoting reflections and a better understanding of the phenomenon. Therefore, the overall community research strongly benefited from a relatively low-time consuming ethnographic study.

In conclusion, community psychologists often face situations in which ethnographic methods are the most indicated and there is a growing need to reflect on their use, use them properly and acknowledge their use in their publications.

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POSTER SESSION

POE Buildings Assessment of Architectural Heritage. Case of the Medina of Constantine Algeria

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Historical heritage is one that gives us a sense of wonder and makes us want to know more about the people or culture that produced it. Moreover, It has an architecture, aesthetic, historic, documentary, archeological, economic, social, and even political and spiritual or symbolic values.

It deals with the political, social and economic aspects of the period in which the structure was built and gives the chronological sequence of events in the life of buildings.

Within the context of the city of Constantine In Algeria, the historical heritage is mainly composed by the old city of Ottoman era” Medina” and the European city of the French era. These urban centers have experienced and continue to experience significant changes in their units, homogeneity and urban image. This phenomenon is accentuated with the natural growth of cities and the rural exodus.

Therefore, urban development has complied with the economic imperatives alone, ignoring any historical urban structure reflecting the richness of different civilizations and cultures in the country. During the French period (1830 - 1962), the city was mainly inhabited by the Algerian population concentrated in the neighborhoods of the traditional city “Medina”, and a European population concentrated in the colonial-type of houses.

The city of Constantine which is considered the capital of eastern part of Algeria, by its size, its history and geographical position has seen many changes related to its structure and urban image.

The historical heritage of the old city Medina Constitutes a real image history and of the lifestyle of the past generation.

Most buildings have unique characteristics, with special attributes elements such as windows, doors, walls, columns, roofs, floor and staircases. The colors of building materials also give an interesting character to these historical buildings.

However, Most heritage buildings of the Medina has been deteriorated “threat of ruin” and the remaining buildings are generally susceptible to demolition, partly due to factors such as poor maintenance and improper restoration methods, and the the city continues to undergo major transformations disregarding the context of the historical urban city.

Diagnostics undertaken within the actual context of the of historical buildings of the Medina, pointed up that, several factors contributed to the degradation of the urban frame of the city and the deterioration and degradation of major buildings.

Several scientific studies and research have allowed us to express the magnitude and importance of, the Post-occupancy evaluation (POE) studies in the field of refurbishment, renovation and preservation of architectural heritage.

Refurbishment means to bring existing buildings up to standard, or to make them suitable for a new use by refurbishment as part of repair, or by restoration and renovation.

In order to prevent from more accurate damages and deteriorations of the old city, Post-Occupancy Evaluation (POE) study could be carried out. POE can be defined as the process of evaluating buildings in a systematic and rigorous manner after they have been refurbished, restored or renovated and occupied for some time. It involves the systematic study of buildings once occupied, so that we can learn on how to improve their current conditions and to guide the design for future buildings refurbishment or restoration.

Therefore, it is urgent to undertake scientific search in order to highlight the interest of this historical memory.

Aims:

- 1 - Assess the extent of current situation of the architectural heritage and establish its state of damage to incur future.
- 2 - Generate a scientific contribution or a database which composed a prerequisite to be used in studies and research in order to preserve this architectural heritage from different risks.

‘Let’s Make Schools a Daily Practice of Democracy!’ Resistance and Repetition in Gendered Visions of Citizenship in Municipal Preschools of Reggio Emilia, Italy (1969 – 1980s)

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At the end of the Second World War, in Italy, the *Unione Donne in Italia* (Italian Women’s Union; UDI) was concerned with the foundation of preschools for young children as a way to emancipate women by creating the conditions for them to go to work. In the area of Reggio Emilia, Italy, the UDI opened several schools and from 1963, these schools begun to receive the financial support of the Municipality of Reggio Emilia. Between 1963 and 1976, municipal schools grew rapidly with more than twenty preschools by 1976 (Canovi, Lorenzi, & Borghi, 2001). From the 1980s, these schools had achieved international renown as a model of quality education based on an image of the child as a citizen with rights. Given their history fundamentally based on movements of women’s emancipation and their ‘progressive’ educational philosophy, the paper examines whether these schools might have also functioned as “social laboratories” for a gender-equal visions of society (Canovi et al., 2001, p. 59).

The analysis combines qualitative interviews with women who have played a central role in the foundation and the development of these schools (such as teachers, politicians/activists, and mothers) with a discourse analysis of classroom documentation, including classroom diaries and posters. Through a feminist theoretical framework, combining the work of Wendy Brown (Brown, 1995, 2001, 2010) with that of Valerie Walkerdine (Walkerdine, 1989), this analysis begins by considering classroom documentation that reports inedited oral testimonies of grandparents recounting the memories of the Resistance, as well as children’s and teachers’ reflection around these testimonies. This documentation reveals that the view of society that was promoted within the schools was in continuity with the movement of the Italian Resistance, and the schools were described as place where children could learn “la partecipazione consapevole con l’adulto alla vita in modo democratico ed antifascista” (Erio Tondelli, 1975). The school was a place for children to be educated “alla liberata’, alla solidarieta’, alla socialita’, alla democrazia. (Erio Tondelli School, 1975). But surprisingly, the paper also reveals the unexpected finding that despite the central role of women in the Italian Resistance, these memories of the Italian Resistance fail, for the most part, to account for the place of women during the war and to represent them as active political subjects. This consideration is taken as a starting point for reflections around the place of women in the view of society put forward in the schools through these stories about the Italian Resistance.

The paper continues by examining the image of citizenship that accompanies these stories under consideration. It argues that these stories contributed to construct an image of the citizen that was superficially gender neutral. But these gender-neutral representations could also contribute to the shaping of an image of citizenship that could be interpreted in a masculine way. The stories around the Italian Resistance in the schools could be seen as reproducing gender inequalities by shaping a social imaginary that reproduced traditional gender roles and habituated children to a view of society where the citizen is typically a boy/men, whilst the girl are left at the margins of the educational process and the public sphere (Dillabough & Kennelly, 2010).

The rest of the paper examines and seeks to account for these representations of citizenship in terms of wider changes and continuities in the gender politics in Italy. It begins by considering the ideology driving the UDI, and shows that the UDI had an ideology that was not so much concerned with intervening in the schools to change the gender roles among children. Yet, the paper also shows that the UDI was motivated by values, such as substantive notions of equality, that, in a

fertile pedagogical context, could have easily lead to the promotion of gender-equal practices in the classroom. The analysis also reveals that the political context in which the schools were born and developed was a highly masculine context. The PCI (the Italian Communist Party), which was the leading party in the area of Reggio Emilia at the time, was, as other studies have also shown (De Grazia, 1993) and as the women of the UDI have reported, a male dominated party mostly. But, at least for the most part, the PCI was not concerned with issues of gender equality. In this political context, the choice of the state to financially support the schools could be seen as a way of the state to educate citizens, from early on in their lives, to a masculine view of society as well as regulating women's movements (Rossi, 1988). The paper concludes that the lack of gender-equal practices in the pedagogy of the schools could be explained in terms of the masculine gendered context in which the women of the UDI were working to found and develop the schools.

The end of natural disasters. An analysis perspective

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The transformations of contemporary cosmology have occurred in recent decades as a result of the integration of increasingly large spheres of human and non-human nature in the technical universe, especially facing disasters, causing new social problems: difficulties faced by scientific discourse in addressing these issues depend on the insufficient available conceptual reserve in understanding phenomena that constitute exemplary crystallization of changes occurring particularly in the latter of the century. The traditional categories of analysis proposed by social sciences based mostly on antinomian juxtapositions, struggle to catch the vast metamorphosis of late-modernity: increasingly, in fact, phenomena that up until a few years ago we would not have hesitated to call "natural", placed under the lens of scientific inquiry, reveal today their anthropogenic origin.

As has been extensively argued by Ulrich Beck in his famous studies on risk, disasters are no longer perceived as coming from an "outside" – in the form of divine transcendence as in the premodern era, or rather in the form of nature foreign to the social sphere as the next stage – but rather as endogenous products of human society with their "social matrix": radicalization of modern dynamic based on the industrialization process has in fact caused, on the one hand, the incorporation of natural order into the human domain, and, on the other hand, has transfigured the totality of disaster in the fulfillment which were until then – in the words of the important German sociologist – "unintended consequences of the industrial production process" (Beck, 1987, 1990, 1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2008, 2011).

These considerations agree with analysis proposed by Bruno Latour in his famous essays on this subject; according to the French scholar's thesis, today there is an increasing hybridization between science, politics, society and nature, which refutes antithetical oppositions established in the modern age: this lack of distinction, caused by huge human intrusion in the natural world, produces – and here Latour uses a term coined in geology – the "Anthropocene" era in which, any separation between the human sphere and the natural sphere, must be regarded as outdated (Latour, 1998, 2009, 2013).

Anthony Giddens argues that the natural realm, at this stage, is dominated to such an extent by science and its technical applications that it is completely "socialized" and, for that reason, must be considered over: nature is transformed into a – to quote the well-known British scholar – "created environment" under the domain of "human decisions" (Giddens, 1994, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 1999d, 2009).

As Jean-Pierre Dupuy stated in his research, disasters seem to have lost their "innocence" because each one of them derives, ultimately, from human fault: the overturning of modern conception seems to be looming as well as renewed connection between physical evil and moral evil as every natural disaster is a consequence of great environmental manipulation committed by mankind (Dupuy, 2004, 2006, 2011, 2013).

Widespread awareness that disasters largely arising from the introduction of new technical devices

that aren't eliminating threats but, rather, are replacing lethal dangers with others equally insidious, eroding – asserts Mary Douglas – the positivistic belief that man, with science, would be gradually emancipated from the whims of nature, enslaving it to its purposes: this paradoxical condition attests the failure of modern promise and prevents any chance of neutral interpretation of natural phenomena as they revealed their anthropic origin. It therefore renews a relationship between morality and danger as a result of the impossible identification of the causes of natural disaster: the belief concerning an objective natural reality opposed to man has vanished, thus knowledge production – anthropologist states – flow into ideological frames, defusing any attempt of a pure and detached analysis and giving shape to a renewed system of “blaming” (Douglas, 1991, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c).

These arguments – which only introduce a mature reflection on this issue – will be developed in the light of the changes that affected, in the contemporary period, the dialectic between man and nature, producing a change in the relationship between these two poles: the thesis is that today there is a rebirth of a monistic cosmology founded on a principle of identity between society and the biosphere. This state of affairs, in many ways similar to the one existing in pre-modern society, requires a deep reorganization of the main analytical categories useful for a realistic understanding of “natural” disasters: the dissolution of the modern world view in which man and nature represented two separate entities in which the first was a rational ruler of the latter, implying a radical rethinking of the ways in which human beings look at these phenomena; the awareness that behind each catastrophe there is man largely extending the sphere of human liability, causing, among other things, decisive and unprecedented ethical implications.

Hans Jonas, in his famous work on this topic, pinpoints the transformation of dialectic between man and nature – caused by science and its technical applications – as one of the central problems that contemporary man has to solve: the natural sphere, fully incorporated into the realm of human production, has lost its neutrality – acquiring, conversely, a moral character. Disasters at this stage are characterized by their social matrix, by their self-produced nature: this condition involves a space-time frame restructuration of the sphere under human responsibility because now it embraces very long-term effects which could affect the entire planet. Desperate task – the German philosopher concludes – to identify precise causal relationships concerning the effects of the technique, together with its potential irreversibility, implying a re-articulation of the relationship between man and nature and assigning it new meanings (Jonas, 1973, 1990, 1997).

In my opinion – and in agreement with what has been said so far – it is permissible to declare *the end of natural disasters*: in this sense we have to support the urgent need to thematize, in terms of the social sciences, a issue of a really remarkable importance.

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Casablanca, an on-going heritagization process

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The wide Moroccan town of Casablanca is the object of an heritagization process which is acting for several years but, in 2014 it is having a essential transformation.

Casablanca downtown is composed by a really huge amount of interesting buildings raised up during the French protectorate (1912-1956) on a Henri Prost's designed urban scheme. Casamémoire is an independent association composed by a local elite and some Europeans living in town; it is leading the process of preservation and valorisation of the Casablanca's recent architecture.

In the second half of the 2010s, the association included a new target in its own strategy: the Unesco label under the World Heritage list, an international passage to come back on site with an effective instrument. The proposal of a Unesco labelled site was accepted by all the local stakeholders but the first tentative to include it into the Tentative list was stopped down by the Ministry of Culture. A second tentative, in 2013 permitted the admission at the list and now Casamémoire is managing the dossier after an official agreement with the Ministry.

The Casablanca's process of heritage valorisation is leaded by an enlightened elite which is proposing a liberal progressive understanding of local and social development. On a long term prediction, we can read this heritagization as a part of the potential conflict between liberal and neo-liberal visions of the town development.

The complex relationship between heritage and power is proposed in the economical capital of Morocco as a strategic issue for "high-level-grassroots" (Casamémoire is undoubtedly a part of civil society but not really a popular composed grassroots force). Casamémoire is able to open a dialogue at the global level to manage the local heritage conservation wills. It was able to reach the Unesco wide spread and mythic level in order to deal with its impact upon the local heritage governance.

Cultural representations of labor. Terni as a case study.

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My research considered a case study, Terni, characterized by the presence of a huge factory (AST: Terni Special Steel). In this context the contemporary trends of deindustrialization show the problems related to the industrial crisis. My research analyzed the artisan entrepreneurs. The aim was to deepen the knowledge of the development in places where the initiatives in the handicraft field coexisted with the huge factory. The field research consisted of: a collection of life-histories and photo-albums. From the interviews (life-histories of the craftsmen) emerged that the craftsman can be considered not as a pre-industrial traditional figure, but an opportunity for a reconciliation between Standardized and Well done. Furthermore, the research relies on the tools of the visual sociology; on the analysis of the photographic archives of AST and of the photo-albums from the craftsmen interviewed.

Produrre un'analisi sull'“inserimento lavorativo” a partire da Foucault

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Questo contributo intende porre l'accento sulla maniera in cui sia possibile svolgere una ricerca sul campo a partire dall'indicazione di Foucault di poter diagnosticare il presente nella sua differenza rispetto al passato e specificità, come ricorda la *call for papers*. Quest'attitudine sembra incidere sul metodo di lavoro e sulla postura del ricercatore nell'investigazione - dalla fase di progettazione all'analisi e ai risultati. L'ipotesi qui proposta è, dunque, quella di un uso di alcuni elementi dell'opera di Foucault – elementi concettuali, ma soprattutto *metodo* ed *ethos* – per produrre delle ricerche sul campo su temi anche non direttamente legati ai suoi lavori. In questo senso si può parlare quindi di un uso “riflessivo” di Foucault.

Per dimostrare tale possibilità, questo contributo si rifà ad una ricerca che ha condotto all'elaborazione di una tesi di dottorato sull'inserimento lavorativo (modello francese) come *dispositivo* (di poteri-saperi) ma anche *esperienza* (di costruzione di sé in rapporto agli altri e a un ambiente – spaziale, territoriale, fisico e meta-fisico). Il testo proposto si articolerà in due parti: una più descrittiva sulla ricerca nella sua globalità (obiettivi, metodo e apporti teorici, risultati) l'altra più centrata sulla maniera in cui l'uso di Foucault è sembrato in un primo momento una scommessa, poi un'evidenza.

1 Contesto e sviluppo della ricerca

La ricerca in questione si è svolta dal 2008 al 2012 a Marsiglia (Francia) in un'impresa sociale che si occupa d'inserimento lavorativo e formazione. L'indagine ha come presupposto teorico l'idea che l'inserimento lavorativo sia innanzi tutto una pratica che s'iscrive nel rapporto storico tra *vivere insieme* e *lavoro*. L'inserimento lavorativo sembra essere un *dispositivo aperto* – una rete di elementi eterogenei nella quale s'incrociano strategie di sapere e potere; uno spazio normativo e al contempo capace di costruire e produrre innovazione e nuove maniere di vivere e pensare il rapporto con il lavoro. La ricerca s'iscrive nell'ambito del dispositivo CIFRE (*Convention Industrielle de Formation par la REcherche*). L'obiettivo operativo maggiore è duplice: da una parte, partecipare ad un progetto europeo per condurre l'analisi dell'attività di alcune figure professionali operanti nel settore dell'inserimento lavorativo; d'altra parte, valutare il ruolo e il contributo della struttura all'interno del settore, sul territorio marsigliese. Questo doppio obiettivo è associato ad un altro: redigere una tesi di dottorato sull'inserimento lavorativo partendo da un contesto preciso e locale – quello dell'impresa in questione – grazie ai materiali empirici raccolti, ma rielaborando il tema dell'inserimento lavorativo nel più complesso rapporto storico e epistemologico tra *vivere insieme* e *lavoro*. Rispetto a questa domanda articolata, l'analisi dell'attività è stata la base metodologica ma anche concettuale per rendere conto dell'inserimento lavorativo a partire dall'esperienza dell'impresa. Concretamente, la ricerca è stata condotta tramite

delle osservazioni dirette e indirette di situazioni di lavoro, lo studio dei documenti d'impresa e le interviste semi-direttive. Ma, in realtà è stato proprio condividere il quotidiano sia con i professionisti dell'inserimento lavorativo e, in maniera indiretta, con gli "operai -utenti" che ha permesso di capire e studiare i meccanismi odierni dell'inserimento lavorativo e di provare a comprenderli nella differenza rispetto al modo in cui sono emersi storicamente. In effetti, quello che oggi è un vero e proprio settore professionale in Francia, ma anche in Europa (cooperative italiane, spagnole...) è emerso da una serie di discontinuità nel "lavoro sociale" e dal sovrapporsi di misure di politiche sociali diverse. Osservando le dinamiche dell'inserimento lavorativo, dal reclutamento alla riclassificazione, i tre assi del lavoro di Foucault, da lui stesso indicati – potere, sapere, sé – sono sembrati un paradigma nel quale iscrivere la comprensione storica e sociale dell'inserimento lavorativo così come delle sue dinamiche attuali. Allo stesso tempo, alcuni concetti, come quello di "dispositivo", di "eterotopia", di "governamentalità", di "assoggettamento" e "soggettività" sono apparsi particolarmente utili alla ricerca in corso. In effetti, il settore professionale dell'inserimento lavorativo si trova nell'intersezione tra lavoro sociale e produzione. In questo settore, che appare come una rete eterogenea, il lavoro diventa al tempo stesso mezzo d'integrazione e opportunità di professionalizzazione e di produzione – produzione materiale e produzione di nuovi soggetti. Nel testo dell'eventuale comunicazione si tratterà, quindi, di precisare tali aspetti.

2 Attualità e storia

Per condurre questa ricerca, il ricorso a Foucault è stato fondamentale anche dal punto di vista del metodo e della postura scelta. Il riferimento principale riguarda l'attitudine storico-critica del filosofo nell'espressione dell'impegno politico e sociale diretto che conduce ad un investimento personale e collettivo su temi diversi, locali e particolari. Foucault, in effetti, è allo stesso tempo impegnato nelle vicende urgenti dell'attualità (G.I.P., corrispondenza Iran, dialogo CFDT...) e studioso scrupoloso del passato. Nelle diverse espressioni della sua attività filosofica (libri, corsi, interviste, scritti molteplici) non c'è amalgama tra passato e presente, ma una straordinaria capacità a tenere insieme livelli diversi di analisi critica che permette di studiare il proprio presente prendendo atto delle sue condizioni di possibilità e di emergenza storica e del fatto che ciò che si produce oggi non solamente non ha nulla di "necessario", ma è soggetto a molteplici possibilità.

Questa prospettiva aperta da Foucault si attesta come un orizzonte al quale guardare per produrre delle ricerche sul campo che vogliono unire la conoscenza di un terreno di studio determinato con un'apertura critica. La ricerca qui considerata ha cercato di guardare verso quest'orizzonte, innanzi tutto aprendo uno spazio di lavoro tra lo studio delle situazioni contingenti dell'inserimento lavorativo nell'impresa e una genealogia almeno parziale di questo settore. Allo stesso tempo, questa prospettiva critica ha determinato anche delle opzioni strategiche (per esempio, la scelta di dar voce diretta a certi profili professionali e di cercare di aprire degli spazi di parola nell'impresa per altri profili) e dei modi di organizzazione della scrittura. Si tratterà, allora, di chiarire questi punti e di mostrare come l'anelito a muoversi in un orizzonte di "ontologia critica" può rinnovare una ricerca sul campo a partire da Foucault.

La relazione tra lavoro gratuito e remunerato: la passione nel processo di istituzionalizzazione della diseguaglianza.

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Attraverso un continuo processo di territorializzazione e deterritorializzazione il capitalismo espande gli assiomi che lo costituiscono. Con questa espressione Deleuze e Guattari descrivevano nell'Anti-Edipo (1972) la capacità del capitalismo di moltiplicare le occasioni di sussunzione e di accumulazione. È in quest'ottica che può essere letta la relazione tra i regimi di giustificazione alla base delle *cités* che hanno dominato la storia della società capitalista, sistematizzate nei lavori di Boltanski e Thévenot (1991) e Boltanski e Chiapello (1999). Una relazione senza dubbio dinamica, fatta da compenetrazioni e contraddizioni che nulla hanno a che vedere con la logica lineare

dell'evoluzione, ma che rispondono piuttosto al gioco dato dall'elasticità del confine tra ciò che in una società può considerarsi formale e ciò che è deve considerarsi informale.

Se è vero che nei momenti di massima espansione economica l'azione regolatrice dello Stato si affievolisce (Deleuze e Guattari, 1972), è in quelli di crisi che – nelle parole di Hirschman (1982) – *la mano che nasconde* si ritira, mostrando gli elementi di non conformità alle retoriche dominanti, le sacche di informalità e di rischio legate all'invisibilità pregressa. Con la crisi del fordismo, nelle sue dimensioni organizzativa, produttiva e istituzionale, trovano quindi visibilità quelle strutture che pur non pienamente conformi alle retoriche della *cit  industrielle* ne hanno favorito il funzionamento.

In questi termini, richiamando quello spirito di sacrificio e di abnegazione che hanno caratterizzato il lavoro delle piccole imprese, che all'ombra della grande industria ne hanno fornito la giusta flessibilità per l'implementazione delle sue *routine*, oggi, la centralizzazione della dimensione vocazionale dell'impegno lavorativo, la valorizzazione della passione nel coinvolgimento dei lavoratori, sono gli elementi che favoriscono la piena assoggettazione dei lavoratori.

Gli elementi alla base della capacità del capitale di estrarre valore dai fattori appena sintetizzati sono da rintracciarsi su diversi piani. Quello dei sistemi produttivi, che nell'occidente economico si distanziano dalla materialità della produzione; quello organizzativo, favorito dalla rivoluzione tecnologica della rete, che ha reso possibili livelli di divisione del lavoro prima non raggiungibili – si prenda come esempio quello della divisione tra proprietà finanziaria dell'impresa e gestione amministrativa. Il piano istituzionale, rispetto al quale il processo di deregolamentazione e liberalizzazione ha portato ad una mutazione non solo dei diritti del lavoratore-cittadino, ma ha cambiato il terreno dell'esigibilità stessa dei diritti, spostandola dal lavoro al mercato del lavoro, dall'occupazione (*emploi*) all'occupabilità (*employabilit *), ponendo il principio di concorrenza tra i lavoratori al centro dei meccanismi di protezione sociale (Friot, 2011).

Il lavoro gratuito, nella prospettiva qui adottata, si iscrive pienamente in questo quadro di profonde trasformazioni. La moltiplicazione delle occasioni di lavoro gratuito diventa, infatti, una condizione condivisa, sebbene con diverse sfumature di significato in base agli inquadramenti nei quali la stessa produzione di valore avviene.

Gli interrogativi che orientano il lavoro proposto insistono dunque su quali siano le logiche che, dal punto di vista dei soggetti, governano la relazione tra lavoro gratuito e lavoro remunerato, che ne giustificano l'esistenza stessa e quali siano i rischi, individuali e organizzativi, legati alla relazione in questione.

Consapevoli che un'esplorazione esaustiva delle sfere evocate non   praticabile in questa sede, ci limitiamo, nel lavoro proposto, a richiamare alcune delle evidenze empiriche, parziali, di un terreno di analisi pi  ampio che confluir  in una tesi di dottorato.

La parzialità dei risultati in questione riguarda sia il terreno di indagine che le dimensioni di analisi. Per quanto riguarda il primo, le interviste in profondità sono state realizzate su due piccoli gruppi di lavoratori che, pur lavorando insieme su uno stesso progetto o su uno stesso servizio, si differenziano al loro interno sia sul piano gerarchico che su quello dell'inquadramento. Cos  definite, le unit  organizzative analizzate appartengono a settori diversi per barriere di accesso, per investimento individuale e per riconoscimento sociale: si tratta di un gruppo di ricercatori del CNR e di un gruppo di educatori della scuola primaria impegnati nel supporto alla disabilit . Pur trattandosi di attivit  inserite in contesti produttivi a vocazione pubblica, le pressioni dovute al rispetto degli accordi sovranazionali in materia di riduzione della spesa ne caratterizzano una profonda trasformazione che coinvolge i lavoratori frammentando gli inquadramenti e le condizioni di lavoro, e, ovviamente, l'organizzazione del lavoro.

Questo   il terreno su cui ragioneremo della relazione tra lavoro gratuito e lavoro retribuito, partendo dalle definizioni delle condizioni che ne danno gli stessi lavoratori e delle strategie messe in campo per ottenere il riconoscimento del proprio impegno. In particolare, avremo modo di osservare come, accanto alle condizioni di inquadramento, la passione agisca sull'assoggettamento dei lavoratori ai diversi regimi, quello dell'occupabilit  e quello dell'occupazione, influenzando sia sul modo in cui i lavoratori percepiscono il limite tra lavoro gratuito e remunerato, sia sulle strategie di

perseguimento del riconoscimento. Infatti, sia per quanti rivolgono le aspettative di riconoscimento all'interno della propria organizzazione, sia che per quelli che orientano la propria ricerca all'esterno, cioè al mercato del lavoro, la gratificazione legata alla propria passione è centrale nell'attribuzione di senso dato al lavoro. Tuttavia, vedremo anche come l'attribuzione di senso costruita su un piano individuale renda paradossalmente più difficile il processo di fidelizzazione del lavoratore all'organizzazione e come rischi di accelerare, traducendolo dal mercato all'interno delle stesse organizzazioni, il processo di istituzionalizzazione della disegualianza.

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Piccoli uomini e piccole donne: la riproduzione sociale del genere tra normalizzazione e reinvenzione creativa

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Come ci ha insegnato Simone de Beauvoir, domandarsi se ciò che siamo e incarniamo è natura o cultura non è mai banale. Come fare, infatti, a discernere tra ciò che siamo perché vogliamo esserlo o ciò che siamo perché ci hanno insegnato a esserlo? Come fare a comprendere fin dove l'attitudine è personale e dove invece è eminentemente artificiale? Il binomio natura-cultura ha impegnato a lungo molti studiosi, facendo nascere dibattiti a dir poco interessanti. Nel campo dei *gender studies*, soprattutto, ha raggiunto livelli molto elevati, portando in ultima analisi alla distinzione tra il concetto di sesso (la caratteristica biologica) e di genere (l'identità sessuale).

D'altra parte, non siamo interessati in questo frangente a entrare nel merito di tale dibattito. Ciò che invece si vuole indagare è il processo tramite il quale l'identità sessuale viene insegnata e appresa nell'ambito di ben precisi contesti istituzionali.

Il caso qui preso in considerazione è, in particolare, quello di due classi di bambini dai 3 ai 5 anni in una Scuola d'Infanzia, indagati con l'obiettivo specifico di comprenderne le dinamiche di socializzazione ai rispettivi generi.

Tuttavia non soltanto i bambini, ma anche le maestre e le relazioni tra i due tipi attori sono stati presi in considerazione nella nostra analisi, seguendo un approccio che, oltre a privilegiare l'analisi dei comportamenti agiti, non ha certamente trascurato l'elemento del linguaggio e del discorso, da sempre elementi decisivi nella comprensione delle convenzioni e delle dinamiche di potere tacitamente presenti in un dato ambiente istituzionale. Infatti, come ci suggerisce Gobo, «*I discorsi permettono l'accesso alle interpretazioni dei partecipanti; fungono anche da ganci su cui appendere le rappresentazioni sociali. Dunque, il linguaggio è un ottimo mezzo con cui penetrare sia le interpretazioni sia le azioni degli attori sociali*».

La ricerca etnografica in questione si è basata, ovviamente, su un'ipotesi di partenza, che ha preso il via da due assunti, l'uno relativo ai *gender studies*, l'altro relativo alla sociologia dell'infanzia, in particolar modo riprendendo il lavoro di William Corsaro: l'identità di genere è socialmente costruita; i bambini creano proprie culture dei pari, che formano la storia dell'individuo insieme alla cultura appresa dagli agenti di socializzazione nell'ambito di un ambiente istituzionale.

A ciò non va poi dimenticato di aggiungere il ricorso all'opzione metodologica dell'osservazione partecipante, che ci ha senz'altro permesso di compiere una serie di osservazioni relative al sistema culturale che permea la nostra società, anche sotto il profilo dei suoi cambiamenti temporali. Ciò che infatti il nostro approccio fenomenologico alle dinamiche educative ci ha permesso di osservare è come queste consistano nella sostanziale trasmissione di un «sistema di credenze» utile alla società, in quanto offrono schemi mentali che permettono agli individui di classificare e

categorizzare oggetti, situazioni e atteggiamenti.

Ed è proprio per via della presunta utilità di tali schemi che tali credenze possono essere considerate come prodotti che tendono a conservare una certa stabilità nel corso del tempo. A livello cognitivo, infatti, l'esperienza umana tende a dare maggior peso e ricordare con più facilità i dati che confermano le proprie credenze e ad archiviare come eccezioni o anomalie i dati che le invalidano. Si vengono così a creare stereotipi e pregiudizi utili alla classificazione dell'esperienza che, nell'ambito delle prime esperienze educative, si traducono in una riproduzione discorsiva, normalizzante e acritica di differenze di ruoli sociali fondate sul genere. Tuttavia, ciò sembra in buona parte scontrarsi con il passaggio, avvenuto negli ultimi decenni, da una società standardizzata, rigida e prevedibile a una società flessibile, liquida, individualista, ha in un certo senso indotto alla falsificazione degli stereotipi e pregiudizi tradizionalmente costitutivi dell'identità di genere, anche se questi ultimi, per loro natura, mantengono ancora un'elevata salienza in varie situazioni sociali. Pertanto, è ragionevolmente ipotizzabile che ciò a cui oggi si assiste è una sorta di contrapposizione frontale tra schemi mentali e logiche di giustificazione normalizzanti delle differenze di genere in certi ambienti educativi, e una realtà sociale che non conferma più, se non in parte, quegli stessi schemi. Ciò sembrerebbe in particolare trovare riscontro nella difficoltà, ma allo stesso tempo nella necessità, per i bambini di rielaborare e superare il contrasto tra la visione stereotipata e normalizzante del genere appresa nella Scuola d'Infanzia di riferimento e quella realmente vissuta ed esperita nella loro vita di tutti i giorni, la quale si manifesta, in primo luogo, nell'intercambiabilità dei ruoli assunti dai propri genitori.

Sarà proprio a partire da queste considerazioni, accompagnate dalle opportune evidenze empiriche, che tenteremo di corroborare la nostra ipotesi ricerca:

Nelle loro culture dei pari, i bambini non si limitano a riprodurre in modo asettico la cultura appresa, ma questa viene interpretata, modificata e riproposta sotto altri aspetti. E così avviene che alcuni stereotipi di genere che vengono loro insegnati, non trovando verifica nella praticità del quotidiano, siano messi in discussione.

Per quanto riguarda i risultati della ricerca, a prospettarsi sono scenari in parte innovativi e inediti rispetto ai quadri interpretativi costruiti da una certa letteratura precedente. Questo soprattutto per quanto riguarda il gioco dei bambini. Infatti, la scelta del giocattolo da utilizzare non è, al contrario di come si potrebbe credere, sessualmente connotata; lo sono invece le modalità di utilizzo del gioco stesso.

Infine, la nostra ipotesi è stata testata con un esperimento in classe, il quale ci ha confermato che l'introduzione creativa del "genere" risulta verificata soprattutto quando ai bambini vengono messi di fronte alla necessità di gestire stereotipi "deboli" quali, ad esempio, la scelta tra colori "maschili" e "femminili". Quest'ultima viene invece falsificata nel momento in cui i soggetti sperimentali vengono sottoposti o indotti all'uso stereotipi molto più forti, volti ad esempio a favorire una loro identificazione in ruoli sociali percepiti più o meno come maschili o femminili.

Non chiamatemi Gabriella; sono Massimo. Esperienze di vita e percorsi biografici di tre ragazzi transgender a Napoli

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Lo studio in oggetto è effettuato su tre ragazzi *transgender*, di appartenenza culturale differente tra loro, abitanti nella città di Napoli. L'analisi di tipo esplorativo intende principalmente studiare i percorsi di vita e sociali con cui tali ragazzi cercano di rendere esplicita - e 'normale' anche agli altri - la loro identità. L'indagine analizza altresì la percezione di sé stessi in relazione al contesto in cui vivono, le difficoltà incontrate durante la ricerca del lavoro a causa della loro identità ed i *network sociali* di ausilio e di conflitto che hanno facilitato/ostacolato la ricerca del lavoro e, le 'normali' e quotidiane condizioni di vita. Le differenti realtà vissute dai tre soggetti, sono analizzate singolarmente nella loro specificità e successivamente messe a confronto.

Il lavoro in questione si serve principalmente di una metodologia di tipo qualitativo. Tramite la

tecnica delle interviste in profondità e delle storie di vita ci si pone l'obiettivo di conoscere la biografia, l'esperienza ed i vissuti dei soggetti studiati tenendo conto delle loro percezioni, punti di vista, sfumature emotive e significati che conferiscono agli eventi relativi la loro storia. L'osservazione partecipante si pone l'obiettivo di compenetrare nelle 'normali' condizioni di interazione dei soggetti studiati, tenendo conto soprattutto delle situazioni inerenti i colloqui di lavoro (specie quelli in gruppo). Lo studio compenetra altresì l'approccio della *network analysis* per studiare le reti interpersonali di cooperazione e di conflitto ed analizzarne la loro natura, composizione e struttura.

Il contesto in cui si svolge l'indagine è quello dei quartieri popolari di Napoli, caratterizzati da disagi ed elevati problemi di vivibilità. Entrambe i soggetti *transgender* vivono difficoltà di inserimento nel mondo lavorativo a causa della loro identità (anche durante la ricerca di lavori precari). I momenti maggiori in cui tali discriminazioni sono evidenti riguardano le fasi iniziali dei colloqui. Questi ragazzi, attivano continuamente una serie di *escamotages*, durante le interazioni quotidiane, per cercare di essere considerati in base all'identità desiderata e percepita (cercando in tal modo, di eliminare lo spettro di quella biologica o anagrafica). Tali processi risultano meno faticosi quando interagiscono con bambini. Le reti sociali solidali, sono composte maggiormente da giovani.

The social capital of the No Tav movement: when the Internet marches like a train

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The work of research I am conducting within the Sociology PhD (University of Verona) is focused on the twenty-year struggle against High-Speed-Railway projects widely concerned, and aims at achieving the following cognitive aims: investigating the use (especially the one focused on protesting) that the activists do of the CMC (*Computer Mediated Communication*) and of the Internet; checking if and how much the relationship within the No Tav and the one between the No Tav and anybody external to the movement feature confidence and mutual aid (the two constituent aspects of the social capital); understanding how the various online consumption strategies of the No Tav can possibly have an influence on their processes which produce social capital (associative, generally including people/institutions), and viceversa.

Therefore, it is an ethnographical research whose first exploratory phase ended in the spring 2013, after twenty *individual, interactive, online and non-structured* interviews with as many No Tav screened through convenience sampling, and three *non-structured participant observations* which were *internal and uncovered* (three marches of protest in Val di Susa, in Novi Ligure and in Rome).

In the second phase, ended in January 2014, eight focus group discussions have been carried on *online* in a *synchronous* mode (in chat) by a moderator. Four of them were with No Tav demonstrators of Val di Susa, two with activists from Piedmont not coming from Val di Susa and two with Italians taking part in the protest and resident outside Piedmont. All were chosen through avalanche sampling. For each focus conduction (each of them involving eight participants), the moderator has resorted to a structured discussion grid which takes into account the research aims.

Finally, the third phase (between February and March 2014) is characterized by a revival of the individual sphere with twenty *semi-structured* interviews (always via web, in chat) aiming at deepening the most relevant matters resulted from each focus.

Between citizenship practice and work experience, what are the expectations underlying the French "Service Civique"?

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Ever since the compulsory military service was abolished in 1997, many different kinds of "civic"

or “associative” volunteers status have come into being, with no real success. In 1994, the French association Unis-Cité was established to promote a voluntary service based on the American model of Americorps, the civic service created by Bill Clinton. After the 2005 Parisian suburbs “riots”, Martin Hirsch was appointed to manage a consultative committee for a youth policy. This commission, which convened from March to July 2009, included many associations, youth and student movements, social partners, members of Parliament and representatives of local or regional authorities, as well as some leading figures specialized in youth and involvement issues. The 5th plenary session of this consultative commission, which took place on May 19th, 2009, addressed the issue of youth citizenship. The political representation of “young” people was tackled in parallel to the creation of a Civic Service.

The commission published a report, entitled *Le Livre Vert pour une Nouvelle Politique de la Jeunesse : reconnaître la valeur de la jeunesse* (“The Green Book for a New Youth Policy: acknowledging the value of young people”), which contained 57 proposals for an “overall policy” regarding young people.

The law establishing this “Service Civique” was voted in March 2010. Martin Hirsch left the government in order to create the “Civic Service Agency”, an organization whose role was to set up this new “Service Civique”. While the youth issue was already a big concern during the 2007 presidential campaign, it became an ever more crucial matter in the 2013 elections: François Hollande, the socialist candidate, declared that he expected 100 000 young people to be hired on civic service by 2014. This announcement was maintained after his election, although the deadlines were postponed several times.

This new kind of contract, laid down in the National Service code, affects individuals from 16 to 25, who get involved on a non-profit structure (associations, schools or educational institutions, local authorities, etc.) for 6 to 12 months, around 24 hours a week. In 2013, approximately 18 000 young people signed a commitment contract for the Civic Service. This hybrid status can be considered neither paid work nor volunteer work (“bénévolat”). Young people engaged in Civic Service receive a financial compensation (about 500 Euros) paid mostly by the State, and they have to meet some contractual obligations that do not exist in the case of “bénévolat” (schedules etc.).

This proposal is a part of a current thesis, under a Cifre agreement, within a confederation of popular educational associations strongly committed in promoting this civic service. Considering the emotional and moral investment and commitment in work, it seems relevant to question the motivations of those who created this particular status and to compare these motivations, afterwards, to those of the people who actually experienced the Civic Service. In order to prove my point, I shall use on the one hand an analysis of the plenary session of the commission that created the civic service, and on the other hand the empirical material that I collected on the organization I work for: interviews and answers to a questionnaire. I shall complete this analysis with some statistical data and with the study of official press releases published on the issue.

The plenary session at the origin of the creation of the French Civic Service began with a remark concerning young people: although most of them have complete faith in non-profit organizations, they seldom get involved with them. The commission considered this lack of commitment by this portion of the population a lack of citizenship. The commission added that the occasional displays of violence by young people (most of them unemployed school drop-outs, in the words of the commission) point out their lack of civic-mindedness and their difficulties in fitting into society. In this context, on what motivations should the Civic Service be based? When Martin Hirsch announced the creation of the status, he mentioned the need for commitment expressed by French young people. But how should we define the notions of citizenship and commitment defended here? And what about the vision of youth? Why the need to use concepts that are so hard to circumscribe? In three years, more than 30 000 contracts have been signed – 30 000 young people who experienced the French Civic Service. After conducting a number of interviews, I noticed that the patterns and motivations of this involvement were many. The questionnaire I sent to 1 000 volunteers enabled me to identify several tendencies concerning the reasons why these young people chose that kind of commitment. The answers sometimes bring out the difficulties to find a

job and to build up a network of contacts. Occasionally, it is the need to feel “useful” that stands out. Most of the time, though, young people choose this path because they have a hard time figuring out what to do with their life. In a nutshell, the reasons pushing these young people to volunteer in Civic Service depend on two things: their previous life course (in particular their closeness with various associations) and their plans for the future. Are they really finding what they were looking for in this Civic Service that was designed to help them express their citizenship? To what extent do they match the population targeted by the commission?

Renaming God: substitutions and authentications between imagined spaces and localities
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Divine names are often meaningful containers of authority, mythological narrations and they act as guarantees of power: devotees from different religious traditions *recognize* and *invoke* a new divine manifestation through previously accepted and notable names. The authenticated names bless the new form as auspicious and powerful. On the contrary, other cases suggest that it is indeed the new emerging divine manifestations to take possession of notable names and present themselves as transpositions or replicas of diffusely experienced powerful divine forms. The existence of replicas is not the only declination of divine transposition; for example, spatial duplication of sacred landscape and allures of Jerusalem elsewhere in the Christian world are well-known. In the Indian context, examples of transfer of toponyms, proliferation of namesakes and multiplication of the same divine forms are not only exceptional cases, but constitute what has been called the “*grammar of sanctification*” (Eck 1988 and 2012) of Indian sacred geography.

Practices of renomination and replicas have been explained through different perspectives. Intrinsic universal qualities of *tirthas*, the Indian sacred places, and of parts of the natural landscape of the sacred, such as rivers and mountains, have been pointed out (Gutschow 2006); these act as mythic prototypes to be reenacted anywhere. The rhetorical and formulaic character of local representations of far and “original” sacred places of the Indian subcontinent has emerged as pertaining to duplicated sites in South-East Asia (Salomon 1990). The phenomenon testifies the intrinsic power and resonance of names, which deserve being recalled and replaced elsewhere, despite a real and direct knowledge of the “original” Indian reality. The proliferation of *tirthas* namesakes has been also identified as social means of authentication and empowerment for minor regional reigns, who take possession of renowned pan-Indian centers and their powerful fame and make them accessible in local replicas for their people (Pelissero 2012).

The need to refer to notable realities and names, which immediately recall meaningful myths and divine manifestations, has been defined as “*the geographical equivalent of sanskritization*” (Eck 1981). The term was introduced in sociology (Srinivas 1952) to explain processes of adoption of sanskrit, brahmanical attitudes and references by lower castes and layers of society, who wanted to elevate themselves in the social hierarchy and consideration. The dynamic has been shifted in the field of religion to explain, for example, the assimilation of characters, attributes and iconography of pan-Indian gods by local divine forms. Popular, rural and local gods would attempt a sort of elevation through the adoption of names and traits of notable forms; in the same way, local spatial transpositions could authenticate and diffuse their fame by referring to pan-Indian sacred centres.

My contribution, however, uses a different and new approach to spatial transposition; this means literally entering in the very places of divine repetition and exploring them through a multivocal and multilocal perspective (Rodman 1992). The existence of duplications and namesakes have been extensively certified, especially as far as textual sacred geographies of the Puranic corpus are concerned; however, poor attention have been paid to the strategies and dynamics of specific places to enact and promote their transposed reality. This perspective can enrich our understanding of such a currently common practice and inform us both about the variety and dynamism of ways of declination of spatial transposition and the contexts of settlement of replicas. This would make light on the variety of local understandings of such a diffused phenomenon of Indian sacred geography.

My paper addresses a specific way of spatial transposition explored during my research in Varanasi (Uttar Pradesh, India), which I define as “renomination”. In particular, I would compare the cases of two different shrines, where names of pan-Indian deities, namely two of the *jyotirlingas*, a group of notable forms of Shiva, have been adopted for the dwelling deities in recent times. The whole group of *jyotirlingas* has local transposition in the city, which is in fact considered a sort of universal microcosm. However, fieldwork activities in specific temples and about their ways of self promotion within the contemporary city enhanced that local replicas and the adopted pompous names are far from being fixed and commonly accepted. They are, instead, object of revision and rethought, and can be creatively retaken by local initiative of singular shrines. As I will highlight, renomination practices derive from different impulses and contexts, which testify the need of adaptation and transformation of sacred places to the contingent reality.

The cases presented in my paper will highlight, on the one hand, the struggles and creativity of locality (Appadurai 1996); on the other hand, they enhance the constant dialogue within the city imagined space, namely its textually and visually sanctioned image as universal *tirtha*, and the dimension of experienced places. These emerge as negotiation laboratories of the imagined space, which actually influence, perform and reshape the abstract mythical image of the city. Pan-Indian names and realities, furthermore, seem to be kept alive and reenacted in and by specific local replicas.

The supposedly authoritative high tradition reveals as in need of being nourished by local and popular ways and traits through the reverse side of sankritization, which has been recently redefined as *deshification* (Doniger 2009), from *deshi*, namely indigenous, local. The research about renomination and authentication practices inform us about the contribution and creativity of locality. Places of transposition emerge not only as mere reproduction and adhesion of mythic models, but as productive agents in the development and transformation of religious traditions.

Cultural Traumas and Memory Recovery: The 1980 Earthquake after over Thirty Years **Emiliana Mangone, University of Salerno, emangone@unisa.it**

This contribution stems from a number of observations that were affirmed through studies and research carried out in recent years, concerning the geographical crater area and epicentre of the 1980 earthquake in Campania and Basilicata. The aim of the research was to investigate and provide a recollection of the historical memory of that phenomenon and of the many still-existing open wounds. Moreover, the study aimed at discovering what remains of that culture and place which dates back to ancient times. Since the earthquake, some of the towns in the area have been reconstructed, yet they have lost a good part of their social life, thus representing a beautiful body without a soul.

The focus of the research is Laviano, a little village in the province of Salerno between the territories of Irpinia and Lucania in the South of Italy. The geomorphologic structure of the territory, with a mountain that overcasts the whole town, has contributed to define the population's identity, reproducing and reinforcing itself until the 1950s when the first substantial migration took place. Poverty had forced those citizens who were able to endeavour a long journey, often with no return, and move to richer and more promising countries. Today we can find *Lavianesi* (the natives of Laviano) emigrants in all the five continents of the world.

Within this critical scenario, the earthquake of November 23rd 1980 hit Laviano with ruthless force leaving 300 victims and a completely-destroyed town. The earthquake did not only destroy buildings, but also contributed to damage the common identity of the territory already in crisis due to the migrations. The earthquake brought about havoc to the identity of the area and this confusion is still present in every citizen today. Although there is a gap between today and the past, the community does not appear willing to surrender and is now trying to rebuild a new identity starting from its young people, born and brought up in the area after the earthquake.

In addition to analysing the historical memories, all the components that contribute to its culture

were also examined, an old culture that had preserved an equilibrium and its own identity for centuries but which today seems lost. The old town, surrounded by green areas in Spring and enclosed by fog and smoke from fireplaces in winter, nowadays has lost its former vitality.

The research 'Returned Laviano', object of the paper, is based on the idea that the *restitution of its soul* to the population of Laviano could still be possible through the recovery of collective memory starting from an interactive 3D virtual reconstruction and from a plastic model of the town before the 1980 earthquake with the aim of reinforcing the territorial sense of belonging. The choice of the different representation techniques comes directly from the requirement of creating an information transfer between the older generations holding the memory (thereby the tangible and immediate reconstruction through the plastic model), and the younger generations which are entrusted with the live preservation of the memory (thereby the technological 3D virtual reconstruction). With these means the relationship among memory, identity and belonging is very tight as the latter becomes an active element of affirmation and recognition. The sense of belonging is an active feeling of bonding that entails emotional attachment. Faithfulness towards something we belong to is therefore developed, which in turn produces objective and subjective integration.

This multidisciplinary research is strongly based on the active involvement of the community of Laviano, which presents itself as a good practise of a mixture of technological and cultural processes for the recovery of collective memory through the narration of individual or collective reminiscences of one's home destroyed by the earthquake. Such process ascribes to the memory an essential role in cultural reproduction and development.

The objective of the research was to provide a 3D reconstruction of the original town area through the survivors' memory with the support of biographical methods that were crucial, because of the limited quantity of available documents. The acquisition of information included an array of sources:

A collection of documents recovered from debris (cadastral maps, pictures, images, video, etc.) coming both from public entities and institutions (such as the technical office of the Municipality of Laviano) and from the population.

Analysis of a) collected documents and their revision through manual annotations in order to transfer to the graphic modellers the sources to be used in the interactive 3D reconstruction; b) typical building materials of the area and of the recurring architectural elements for the right representation of the plastic model; c) arboreal and vegetative essences for the reconstruction of greenery.

Regular meetings with the earthquake survivors in order to define the real image of the town before the earthquake where no other documentation was found, through individual and collective biographical method of reminiscence narration of one's destroyed house. Such methodology not only allows information to be recovered but also provides a concrete opportunity for the Laviano population to have an active role as co-builders of the final product which will become part of their identity.

From a social point of view, the research tried to overcome the culture shock due to the abrupt substitution of the old town with a new town, which has nothing to do with the community before the earthquake, also because the new town is slightly physically dislocated with respect to the old one. The results of the sociological research will be available for the cultural development of the community with two objectives:

Supporting the search, knowledge, recovery, protection, valorisation and availability of the cultural heritage of Laviano, considered as an element of identification for the population of Laviano but also as an attractive force for external interests and a possible opportunity of development;

Supporting the appropriation or re-appropriation of this knowledge hampered with values and reminiscences as a process of cultural development of the local population.

L'intervento si concentrerà su un tema che pone sotto una luce particolare le ambivalenze del free work: il Servizio Civile Volontario, ovvero la possibilità offerta ai giovani tra i 18 e i 28 anni di compiere un'esperienza di un anno (per circa 30 ore a settimana) nei settori del patrimonio artistico e culturale, assistenziale, della protezione civile, ambientale, educazione e promozione culturale o all'estero. Poco retribuito¹, totalizzante, basato sulla "volontarietà" dei soggetti e spesso sulla confusione tra tempo libero e tempo di "lavoro", il Servizio Civile, istituito con la legge 6 marzo 2001 n° 64 (derivata dalla precedente legge sull'Obiezione di Coscienza), affonda le sue radici nella retorica del lavoro come missione e, pur prevedendo un contributo mensile, non si configura giuridicamente come "lavoro". L'intervento prenderà le mosse da alcune considerazioni scaturite da due ricerche su giovani in Servizio Civile, entrambe svolte attraverso interviste in profondità e basate su un approccio metodologico di *etnografia del pensiero*, ispirato all'*antropologia delle singolarità soggettive* dell'antropologo francese S. Lazarus. Le due ricerche in questione, realizzate dal GREP (*Gruppo di Ricerca di Etnografia del Pensiero*, Dipartimento di Storia, Culture e Civiltà dell'Università di Bologna) sono state promosse, a partire dal 2009, dalla Provincia di Bologna e dalla Provincia di Rimini, attraverso i rispettivi Coordinamenti Provinciali di Servizio Civile. La prima riguarda un gruppo di "volontari" italiani e stranieri operanti in enti della provincia di Bologna, la seconda alcuni giovani italiani in Servizio Civile Nazionale all'Estero. Entrambi i lavori tentano un approfondimento della riflessione su concetti quali *volontariato*, *lavoro*, *servizio*, attraverso lo studio delle parole con cui i giovani descrivono la loro esperienza, provando anche a contribuire al dibattito sui futuri orientamenti del Servizio Civile. Indagano, inoltre, i profili esperienziali e formativi dei giovani intervistati e provano a comprendere come hanno eventualmente re-investito la loro esperienza di Servizio Civile (in particolare i giovani rientrati dal servizio all'estero). Tra i risultati emersi tra i giovani in servizio in Italia, durante l'intervento verrà senz'altro discusso quello che è possibile definire il "paradosso" della definizione di "Servizio Civile Volontario". Una definizione che presta il fianco ad un utilizzo ambiguo proprio della parola "volontario". In effetti i giovani intervistati sembrano sentirsi tanto più utili e soddisfatti quanto più le loro attività somigliano quelle del "vecchio" obiettore di coscienza definito, da loro stessi definito come colui che "aiutava direttamente e praticamente le persone". Ma nello stesso tempo affermano di essere diversi dall'immagine classica dell'obiettore, di essere cambiati rispetto a quella figura. Ciò è conseguenza anche dal fatto che molti dei progetti proposti si orientano sempre più, da un ambito prettamente assistenziale, verso ambiti che prevedono ruoli differenti, in cui a volte le interazioni principali avvengono con lo schermo di un computer piuttosto che a livelli interpersonali. Ma proprio in questi ruoli i giovani si sentono paradossalmente meno "utili" e, di conseguenza, meno soddisfatti della loro esperienza. Non è da escludere che ciò possa dipendere proprio da come il Servizio Civile viene ancora presentato (in modo forse un po' anacronistico) a partire dalla stessa legge che lo definisce un "mezzo per difendere la patria". Si tratta di una concezione che non aiuta a valorizzare nuovi aspetti che i giovani intervistati ritengono importanti, come quelli legati al considerare il Servizio Civile un'esperienza utile ai fini dell'"inserimento nel mondo del lavoro". Un inserimento vissuto come "graduale", più "morbido" rispetto ad un normale lavoro e, proprio per questo, considerato importantissimo. Per molti giovani, dunque, il Servizio Civile rappresenta la possibilità di cominciare in qualche modo a "lavorare" da subito nel proprio ambito di interesse e/o di studio. Probabilità dagli stessi giovani considerata sempre più rara, tanto che uno degli enunciati più rappresentativi delle loro definizioni di Servizio Civile è "un investimento che lo Stato fa nei giovani", mentre risultano sorprendentemente assai residue definizioni che rimandano a una visione di Servizio Civile come "lavoro sottopagato". Il concetto di "investimento" sembra ancora più importante nel caso della ricerca sui giovani rientrati dal servizio all'estero. Nelle loro interviste si possono cogliere numerose ricadute positive dell'esperienza di

¹ E' previsto un compenso mensile di 433 euro per i giovani in Italia, maggiorato di 15 euro al giorno per i giovani in servizio all'estero.

Servizio Civile. Una è certamente rappresentata dal fatto che il Servizio Civile pare funzioni come una sorta di “check--□up”, consentendo a quasi tutti gli intervistati di chiarirsi le idee sulle future scelte di vita (professionali prima di tutto). Si nota poi come l’esperienza abbia portato spesso delle nuove consapevolezze e, tra queste, sicuramente maggiore sensibilità alle “diversità” in generale. I giovani rientrati dichiarano anche di aver acquisito molte nuove competenze professionali e personali, ritenute sorprendentemente utili soprattutto dai giovani con un alto grado di formazione. Inoltre si dichiarano in possesso di una maggiore “consapevolezza del mondo” e di una maggiore capacità di relazionarsi con culture differenti dalla propria. Queste nuove capacità maturate li fanno sentire dei “giovani con una marcia in più” (come li definiscono i loro stessi responsabili all’interno degli enti). Una marcia in più facilmente riscontrabile anche nella tendenza a non lamentarsi dell’attuale situazione economica italiana e nella voglia dichiarata di “credere nel no--□profit nonostante la crisi” o di voler “mettersi a disposizione” per migliorare il loro stesso paese, forti delle consapevolezze maturate all’estero. Rispetto alla ricerca sui giovani in servizio in Italia, per i ragazzi che hanno operato all’estero è particolarmente evidente uno degli aspetti fondamentali del free work: la confusione tra tempo libero e tempo di lavoro (anche se dovremmo sempre dire di “servizio”). Spesso nella loro esperienza all’estero i volontari sono andati molto oltre il loro ufficiale monte ore o molto al di là dei compiti previsti nelle loro schede progettuali, lasciando intendere, a volte, di aver praticamente dimenticato questa distinzione. Al contrario, sembra che proprio il fatto di essere all’estero, in contesti particolarmente probanti, immersi in situazioni totalizzanti, gli abbia permesso di esprimere meglio la passione per il proprio “lavoro”. Un tipo di free work, insomma, dagli aspetti potenzialmente importantissimi per i (pochi) giovani che riescono ormai ad accedervi e al contempo per le ricadute positive di cui potrebbe giovare lo uno Stato come l’Italia che, però, dovrebbe seriamente prendere in considerazione un processo di “attualizzazione” e riforma di una legge che, quantomeno nelle parole dei diretti interessati, sembra sempre più anacronistica.

Estetiche della mobilità sostenibile: pratiche, movimenti, controegemonie, poetiche.

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Le risorse che la terra può mettere a nostra disposizione non sembrano più essere sufficienti per garantire i modelli di vita attuali. Le proiezioni delle nostre condotte abituali su futuri non troppo lontani disegnano scenari catastrofici.

La sostenibilità – con lo spirito olistico che vi soggiace, alimentato dalla consapevolezza delle ricadute delle nostre azioni sulla qualità del presente e del futuro – richiede nuove e più ardite immaginazioni, capaci di assumere il limite non come ostacolo ma come ricchezza comune, capaci di innalzarsi da questo orizzonte verso nuove possibilità. Nuove competenze immaginifiche, nuove abitudini, che non si creano in solitudine.

Perché comportamenti considerati di nicchia vengano assunti da numeri sempre più importanti di popolazione, e si stabilizzino, sono necessarie – parallelamente a nuovi modi e regole di produzione e uso delle risorse – nuove culture.

È necessario che si affermino e diffondano “significanti culturali” per aggregare, attorno a esigenze e bisogni emergenti, quantità sempre più qualificate di persone e così influenzare e accelerare, nell’auspicata direzione, i cambiamenti produttivi, che a loro volta rafforzano i significati e i valori delle culture (nel nostro caso le culture della sostenibilità) inizialmente minoritarie.

Le pratiche della sostenibilità, per diffondersi, devono dunque diventare anche pratiche culturali, in modo che si generi intorno ad esse un sempre più vasto patrimonio di simboli, riferimenti, comportamenti, organizzazioni, stili, forme, ecc.; in sintesi, un ampio e riconoscibile capitale culturale a disposizione degli attori sociali.

In una società costituita da pratiche predominanti energicamente e socialmente insostenibili, in cui il consumo esponenziale di energia degrada le relazioni sociali con la stessa ineluttabilità con cui distrugge l’ambiente fisico (Illich 1974, Viale 2007), esistono “azioni di straforo” (De Certeau

1990) che prefigurano nuove narrazioni, saperi antichi che alimentano nuove *mètis* sociali, che possono essere studiate, messe in contatto e sostenute.

Sulla base di queste considerazioni, abbiamo esplorato un particolare campo di studio composto da fenomeni culturali controegemonici, minoritari e di nicchia, legati ai più generali processi di trasformazione della mobilità. In sintonia con i propositi del manifesto di Losanna per un'antropologia non egemonica, che invita a sviluppare nuovi modi di osservazione e nuovi oggetti d'analisi (Saillant, Kilani, Graezer Bideau 2011), la ricerca si è rivolta ai luoghi e ai non luoghi antropologici della mobilità, da cui “derivare prospettive di un sapere critico, situato e condiviso nei mondi contemporanei”.

Al centro dello studio abbiamo posto gli intrecci fra pratiche delle mobilità sostenibile e pratiche della convivialità e artistiche: dove il dispositivo artistico-estetico assume il compito di alzare la soglia di attenzione, diventa sistema di analisi, di comunicazione, catalizzatore di energie, attivatore di prove di cittadinanza attiva (Scardi 2010).

Un impianto di studio interdisciplinare ma anche controdisciplinare perché ha dovuto mettere in discussione i sistemi strutturali e culturali contenuti negli sguardi delle discipline.

La ricerca, che verrà presentata nella relazione, è stata promossa dal Dipartimento di Scienze Aziendali e Sociali della Scuola Universitaria Professionale della Svizzera Italiana, ha preso avvio nell'aprile 2012 ed è stata realizzata da un team di ricercatori provenienti, oltre che dal DSAS, dal Dipartimento sanità, dal Dipartimento formazione e apprendimento, dal Dipartimento ambiente costruzioni e design, dal Conservatorio della Svizzera italiana e dalla Scuola Teatro Dimitri. Il punto di partenza del progetto è la tesi che i pensieri, le emozioni e le preoccupazioni per un futuro sostenibile generano pratiche in cui sensibilità artistico-estetica e desideri di convivialità fanno da catalizzatori e aggregatori per i nuovi stili di mobilità e azioni di sensibilizzazione, generano significanti, movimenti, culture.

I dati della ricerca si fondano sullo studio di un repertorio di fonti documentali provenienti da più 500 pratiche che intrecciano cultura artistica, movimento sociale e cultura della mobilità sostenibile, su interviste a testimoni privilegiati, su osservazioni partecipanti a pratiche culturali di mobilità sostenibile e di mobilità dolce.

Pratiche artistiche e sociali, che assumono valore culturale, poiché, parallelamente alle trasformazioni della mobilità, informano, orientano, si contrappongono, creano consapevolezza e mostrano le opportunità offerte dai nuovi stili di esistenza e di mobilità, invitando a cogliere, in quello che appare come un limite, occasioni per una migliore qualità della vita e per un allargamento creativo delle possibilità e delle relazioni sociali.

Nella ricerca si manifesta una riconoscibile realtà sociale definita in altri studi “Pay-as-you-live” (Future foundation sd; Rosenberg 2102; Rosenberg 2013), che intreccia tecnologia, spirito verde, desiderio di comunità, risposta positiva alla recessione.

Il valore culturale delle pratiche indagate può essere colto e approfondito facendo appello al concetto di *habitus* proposto da Bourdieu (1980, 1994), al concetto di *ethos* e al suo legame con il rito sviluppato negli studi antropologici di Clifford Geertz (1998), a cui riteniamo utile affiancare le riflessioni sempre antropologiche di Victor Turner (1986, 1982) sulle arti performative, per comprendere come la pratica estetica contemporanea possa assumere una funzione rituale e dare visibilità sociale ad aspetti etici e preoccupazioni collettive. Lo studio prosegue con sperimentazioni di pratiche artistiche e conviviali nei luoghi e nei non luoghi della mobilità, collegate con la creazione di un blog interattivo per la divulgazione delle pratiche incontrate e la generazione di network (WWW.SUPSI.SPASS.CH)

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Pratiche, culture e spazi sociali. Nascita di una professione
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La ricerca indagherà l'emergere di una "nuova" figura professionale: la **doula**. Il progetto, che si colloca all'interno del dibattito sulle professioni di cura (Kittay 1999), intende analizzare i processi di costruzione dell'identità professionale delle doule (Abbott 1988) attraverso lo studio delle pratiche, degli spazi sociali e delle culture organizzative. I processi di medicalizzazione della gravidanza e del parto e i processi di costruzione sociale del corpo saranno specificatamente approfonditi, poiché costituiscono dimensioni specifiche del campo d'azione delle doule. La doula si occupa del sostegno emotivo, del benessere della donna e della famiglia dalla gravidanza fino al primo anno di vita del bambino. Offre ascolto, informazioni, orientamento e supporto pratico. Non ha competenze sanitarie, né mediche.

La musica per la cittadinanza europea – MCPCE "cittadinanza europea"
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L'appartenenza all'Unione supera lo stretto ambito della libertà di mercato, della concorrenza e delle sole - se pur ovviamente importanti - questioni economiche, per arrivare all'ambito in cui le libertà, i diritti ed i doveri, si sviluppano in modo tale da rispettare le diversità - culturali e sociali - di ciascun Stato membro. La cittadinanza europea è sorta per dare luogo ad un rafforzamento dell'identità europea. L'ambito è dunque quello, riprendendo la definizione di cittadinanza europea, in cui le libertà, i diritti ed i doveri, si sviluppano in modo tale da rispettare le diversità - culturali e sociali - di ciascuno Stato membro, e insieme rafforzano l'identità europea.

Rafforzamento dell'identità europea nel rispetto delle diversità.

Il rafforzamento dell'identità europea passa per i concetti di differenza e disuguaglianza, attraverso il rispetto delle diversità culturali. La musica e l'arte, per il nostro fine, assumono un ruolo di prim'ordine.

Il progetto prevede l'intervento attraverso la costruzione di percorsi didattici volti al potenziamento della disciplina musicale nella Scuola Primaria, o al loro inserimento, ove già non esistessero.

Il progetto intende promuovere attraverso percorsi inclusivi una concezione della musica quale elemento fondante dell'identità individuale e collettiva, che sia quindi radicata nella storia, nel costume, nella geografia, nella psicologia di cui è espressione. I percorsi multidisciplinari per i bambini dai 6 ai 10 anni sono stati, e sono, elaborati da professionisti e specialisti nella formazione infantile e musicale.

Questo progetto affronta, cercando di mantenere costantemente un punto di vista sociologico, il tema dell'educazione musicale nella Scuola Primaria, troppo spesso considerata una attività scolastica surrogata e non essenziale, come invece meriterebbe. I dati empirici raccolti, attraverso questionari, interviste e ricerca sul campo, possono allora contribuire a dare delle risposte, pur parziali, alla domanda iniziale 'come può la musica aiutare a rafforzare l'identità/cittadinanza europea?', ma anche alla domanda più estesa 'come può la musica contribuire alla costruzione sociale e identitaria del bambino?' e quindi alla 'costruzione del nostro futuro'. Un tema dibattuto e nei confronti del quale si sta facendo molto, e la nascita di alcune reti nel territorio veneto ne è una dimostrazione http://musica.istruzioneveneto.it/musicaveneto/?page_id=341. Tutto questo nella convinzione che ancora molto si possa fare e debba essere fatto per il loro riconoscimento, potenziamento e mantenimento.

Children's memories and stories...through artefacts, places, words

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My thesis explores the stories and memories of children about their primary relationships and meaningful experiences, focusing on the wider structures (i.e. age, gender, cultures, class) that shape their belongings. For these reasons I assume as standpoint artefacts and spaces in which they are located. The research foresees a qualitative and ethnographic frame by choosing methods and techniques suitable for the age and social competences of the participants (Punch, 2002). The participants are children attending the 4°/ 5° grade of the primary school. The research will be developed within two schools and I intend to work with the children within their classes; two contexts that differ for dimension, position, population.

Dalla differenza alle diversità

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Pur trattandosi di ricerche svolte individualmente, come ricercatrici ci siamo costituite ed intendiamo presentarci come collettivo *wom.an.ed*, acronimo per *women's studies in anthropology and/of education*. Il nostro contributo intende offrire una riflessione sulla costruzione/decostruzione della categoria della 'differenza' a partire da ricerche qualitative svolte nell'ambito dell'Antropologia dell'educazione.

Elemento comune alle nostre ricerche è l'approccio etnografico che consente di rivolgere uno sguardo critico sulla costruzione della categoria della 'differenza' attraverso l'esplorazione e la comparazione dei processi di differenziazione all'interno di diversi contesti storici e istituzionali indagati come spazi culturali.

Nel dibattito etimologico-concettuale su "diversità" e "differenza", Abdallah-Pretceille afferma che la categoria di 'differenza' dovrebbe essere distinta da quella di 'diversità'. Termini sovente usati come sinonimi, 'differenza' e 'diversità' rimandano invece a nozioni dissimili: il concetto di 'differenza' si definisce in base ad una deviazione, implicita o esplicita, da una norma, solitamente stabilita da un gruppo dominante che ha il potere di definire l'altro, e di misurarne la distanza dalla norma come deficit. Di contro, il concetto di 'diversità' si pone su un asse orizzontale e non gerarchico che scioglie l'opposizione noi/loro in un panorama di appartenenze multiple e diversificate definite dal contesto, dalle occasioni e dalle interazioni (Abdallah-Pretceille 2005:11-21).

Nel recepire questa distinzione etimologico-concettuale, le nostre ricerche indagano il rapporto dialettico tra la costruzione della "differenza" come tratto costitutivo dell'istituzione, da un lato, e delle "diversità", che sorgono da visioni emiche delle stesse, intese come occasioni per la decostruzione della categoria di "differenza".

Nei singoli contesti etnografici emerge, in forme più o meno visibili, come il "discorso sulla differenza" si manifesti come narrazione dell'Altro che rivela impari status di potere e di presa di parola.

Nella ricerca di Peano (Peano 2013) la scuola diviene oggetto di un'analisi antropologica: quali confini simbolici sono tracciati dall'organizzazione culturale scolastica nella definizione del percorso educativo rivolto all'alunno rom? E come gli alunni rom interpretano il loro percorso scolastico? La ricerca mette in luce come il sistema scolastico tenda a riprodurre i medesimi confini asimmetrici tra rom e non rom presenti nella società adulta. L'osservazione partecipante

dell'interazione degli alunni rom e non rom fa emergere l'agency dei soggetti nella costruzione di spazi soglia, ovvero spazi di confronto e conoscenza caratterizzati da un vivace scambio interculturale.

L'etnografia delle relazioni tra i membri di una rete familiare *romaní* (sinti *estraixaria* trentini) e i *gagie* (non sinti/non rom) residenti a Trento (Setti 2014), fa emergere come la dicotomia tra *marginalità* e *radicamento* riconduca alla riflessione sull'opposizione dicotomica tra *divergenza* e *diversità*. Se a livello macro-strutturale le istituzioni, attraverso i progetti educativi e socio-assistenziali, producono costantemente un discorso che orienta le politiche rivolte a sinti e rom, nei termini di una supposta *marginalità* di quest'ultimi, la ricerca etnografica ha permesso di cogliere come le categorie *emiche* elaborate tra i sinti trentini dimostrino invece il loro *radicamento* nella storia, nel territorio e rispetto alle vicende istituzionali-politiche locali. Le prospettive dei trentini di origine *romaní* offrono pertanto i termini stessi per la decostruzione della categoria di *divergenza* elaborata dalla società maggioritaria nei loro confronti.

Accompagnando il percorso di crescita di un gruppo di giovani immigrati iscritti in un corso professionale breve, la ricerca condotta da Sansoé (Sansoé 2012) permette di ricostruire le implicazioni che scaturiscono dal complesso intreccio tra livello micro e macro, tra attese e significati attribuiti dai giovani immigrati al percorso professionale, da un lato, e strutture socio-culturali che ne disegnano spazi e confini, dall'altro. Nella formazione e nell'evoluzione dei progetti professionali dei singoli ragazzi, i diversi livelli si intrecciano restituendo una visione simultanea degli stessi.

L'osservazione delle interazioni cross-linguistiche di adolescenti nel contesto scolastico multiculturale consente a Giorgis (Giorgis 2013) di leggere l'uso e l'apprendimento delle lingue straniere come occasione di incontro con l'alterità, esperienza in grado di rimodulare i confini e le rappresentazioni di identità personali e collettive. Un approccio teorico-metodologico multidisciplinare, dove cornici teoriche e dati di campo, obiettivi micro e macro si sono reciprocamente parlati e informati, ha consentito di avvicinarsi ad alcuni significati che l'esperienza di L2 assume nel luogo incerto e liminale dell'adolescenza: osservando l'impatto simbolico della relazione con L2 e delle interazioni cross-linguistiche poste in atto dagli adolescenti, le potenzialità singole che fanno emergere, e i processi globali che vanno a indicare, sono emerse differenti declinazioni e appropriazioni di diverse 'terre di mezzo' in grado di ridefinire e rimescolare i confini noi/loro, appartenenza/affiliazione, identità/alterità.

La ricerca di Sartore (Sartore 2014) mette alla prova l'intuizione che ricorrere allo studio degli approcci italiani alla diversità culturale, ovvero interrogarsi su come sia stato costruito, e poi consolidato, un "tipo" di incontro con l'*altro*, possa rappresentare una via generativa non solo per scoprire un *noi* inedito, ma per discuterne l'inevitabile compromissione nell'universo della diversità. Si propongono due percorsi possibili. Nel primo, l'approccio al *diverso-da-noi* emerge dalle produzioni discorsive, storicamente determinate, del *noi* coloniale italiano sull'*altro* meticcio. Nel secondo, le storie di vita di cinque italosomali diventano occasione preziosa per esaminare le interpretazioni dell'*altro*. Nell'analisi della differenza/sottrazione, così come della diversità/percorso di definizione identitaria, siamo costantemente chiamati a riconoscere che la diversità è una *nozione relativa e congiunturale*, e a ritrovare *noi* nella storia dell'*altro*.

La ricerca svolta da Pescarmona (Pescarmona 2012) prende in esame una strategia di apprendimento cooperativo, la *Complex Instruction (CI)*, che mira a valorizzare la diversità come risorsa per apprendere a scuola. Tale studio, lungi dall'assumere acriticamente la *CI* come '*best practice*', indaga che cosa vuol dire sperimentare questa strategia per insegnanti e studenti nei nostri contesti scolastici. La ricerca mette in luce come tale metodo agisca come 'cartina tornasole' nei contesti scolastici, alimentando una tensione fra le risposte culturali abituali e le nuove istanze educative. La diversità culturale proposta dalla *CI* diventa l'occasione per gli insegnanti e studenti per riflettere sul loro modo consueto di intendere il processo di insegnamento e apprendimento e sulla classe come contesto culturalmente connotato. Proprio tale riflessione si rivela essere il vero motore dell'innovazione educativa ed una possibilità per ripensare alla categoria della diversità in modo più equo.